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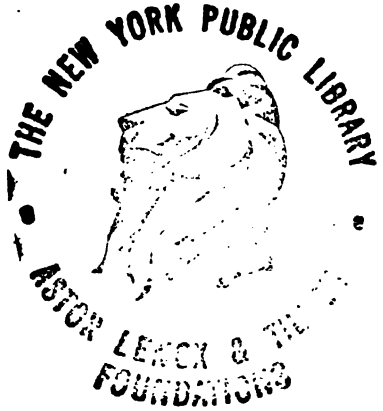
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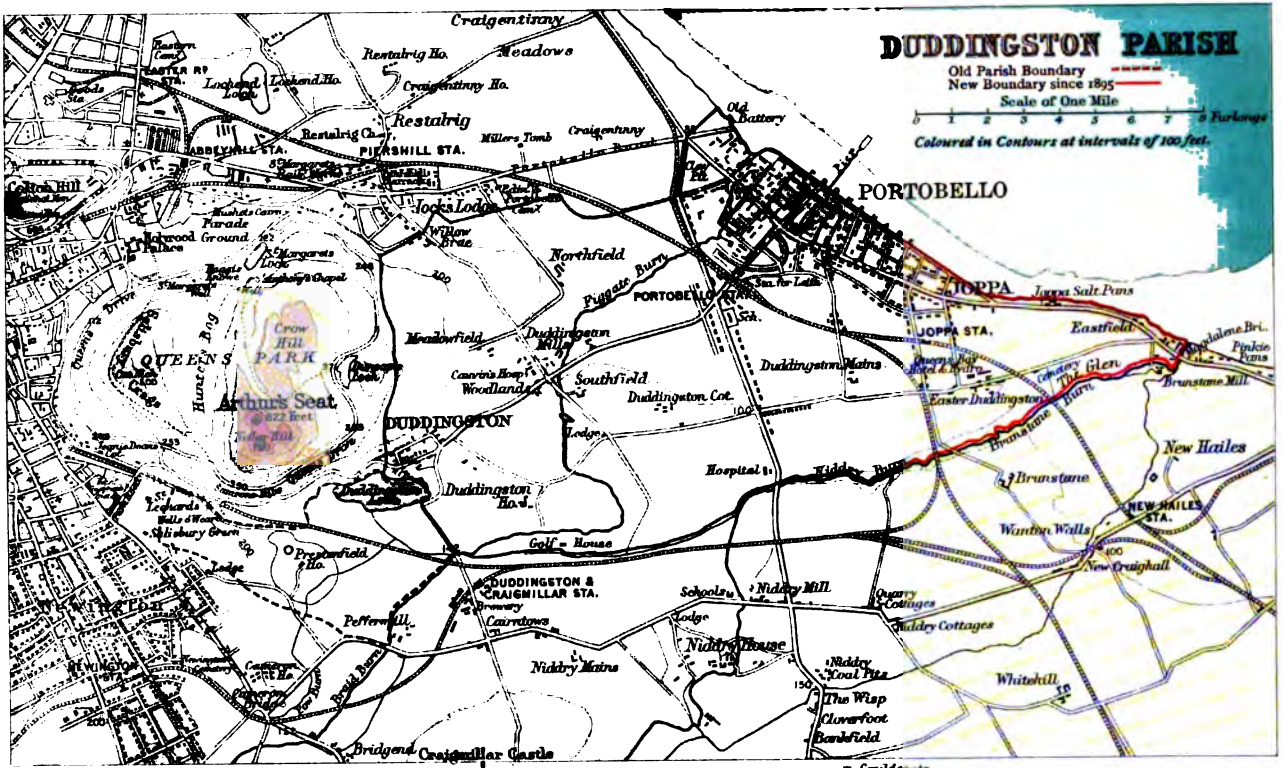
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Annals of Duddingston and Portobello.


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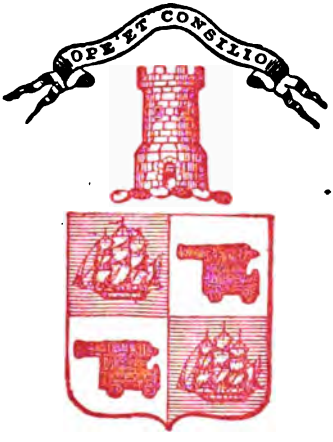
ANNALS OF DUDDINGSTON

AND

PORTOBELLO

BY

WILLIAM BAIRD, F.S.A.Scot.



EDINBURGH:
ANDREW ELLIOT, 17 PRINCES STREET.

1898.

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TO

The Right Hon. Mitchell Thomson

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AND

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JOHN THOMSON OF DUDDINGSTON: Pastor and Painter. A Memoir, with a Catalogue of his Paintings, and a Critical Review of his Works. Illustrated. Price, 25s. *Edition de Luxe*, £2 10s. Andrew Elliot, Edinburgh, 1895.

SIXTY YEARS OF CHURCH LIFE IN AYR: The History of Ayr Free Church from 1838 to 1896. Illustrated. Price, 3s 6d. Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, Edinburgh, 1896.

THE FREE CHURCH CONGREGATION OF PORTOBELLO. Including a Sketch of the Origin and Rise of the Town, and a History of the Church before the Disruption. Price, 4s 6d. Printed for the Author by T. & A. Constable, 1889.

THE ONE POUND NOTE: Its History, Place, and Power in Scotland, and its Adaptability for England. Prize Essay, Institute of Bankers in Scotland, for 1885. Published by C. Skipper & East, London, 1886. (Out of print).

PREFACE.

When this work was begun some years ago, the intention of the author was simply to give an account of the rise and progress of the Burgh of Portobello; but as his researches proceeded he realized that without a description of the Parish in which it is situated the narrative would be incomplete and fragmentary.

Until a comparatively recent period the site upon which the town is built formed a small and almost worthless part of the parish. But its rise and rapid growth have been alike remarkable, and have given it an individuality apart from its surroundings.

On the other hand the Parish of Duddingston, with its several ancient villages, presents us with many features of general interest surpassed by few parishes in Scotland; its proximity to Edinburgh naturally involving its annals in many incidents connected with the general history of the country.

No attempt had hitherto been made to gather the scattered facts of its public life or social economy into a connected historical narrative, and the author has consequently had to resort largely to original sources for his information. In his researches he has been helped and encouraged by many kind friends too numerous to name individually, but whose services are none the less gratefully appreciated. The Burgh Records of Portobello, the Records of Duddingston Kirk Session, and the Minutes of St John's Lodge of Free Masons, Portobello, have been drawn upon largely for reliable facts, and to the custodiers of these and other Public Records his thanks are due for the facilities afforded him. Especially would he mention the kind assistance given by Dr Thomas Dickson, late of the Register House, and by the Librarians of the Edinburgh University Library, the Advocates' Library, the Signet Library, and the Public Library

of Edinburgh, who have one and all most readily given access to documents and books bearing on the subject; while for special aid given in course of investigations and the recovery of many particulars of interest hidden away in obscure quarters, he cannot too highly express his acknowledgments to Mr William Crawford, Edinburgh; Mr Alexander Scott, Bellfield, Portobello; Colonel J. E. Thomson, St Andrews; Rev. J. Anderson, Register Office, Edinburgh; and the late Sir Robert K. Dick Cunyngham of Prestonfield.

For the List of the Fauna of the District to be found in the Appendix he is indebted to Mr Thomas Speedy of Liberton. To these, and all other friends who have contributed to make the volume worthy of the subject, the Author's best thanks are gratefully offered.

In recalling the past, whether it be the dim traditions of the manners and customs of antiquity, or more recent events scarcely beyond the memory of the living, supported it may be by documentary evidence, the Author has sought impartially to develop along with the current story of events—political, ecclesiastical, and social—the underlying motives for action of the various actors. He has accordingly striven to carry the torch into the inner life of the locality so as to reveal the origin and nature of social peculiarities, and the germ and growth of institutions now identified with the wellbeing of the people. He has sought to make the past present, to bring the distant near, to call up bygone generations with all their individuality of language, manners, garb, and thought; and if he has in any measure succeeded in presenting to his readers a faithful picture of these, or has roused any patriotic feeling, he will consider himself well rewarded for any labour his work has cost.

WILLIAM BAIRD.

PORTOBELLO, *1st October 1898.*

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Annals of Duddingston.

INTRODUCTION.

OF the many charming walks in the neighbourhood of the City of Edinburgh, it may be safely said that none can surpass for variety and beauty that which a stranger may be tempted to take to the secluded and romantic village of Duddingston. Whether he approach it by the north or by the south, by way of Portobello, or by the "Queen's Drive" from the south side of Edinburgh, past the lofty crags and precipices of Arthur Seat, he cannot fail to be struck with the quiet old-world look of the place. There is nothing indeed finer in the whole of Midlothian than the prospect which opens to view from the road which circles the hill. Entering the Park by the St Leonard's gate, with the haunch of the "Lion" in front, and following up the road above "Samson's Ribs," with Salisbury Crags on the left, we are in a few minutes beyond the hum of the City. On the right the eye wanders with delight over the undulating umbrageous country stretching for miles to the Pentlands, the Lammermoors, and Moorfoot Hills, in which mansions, castles, woods, and cornfields make up a varied and interesting middle distance. A little further along and looking eastward, the Firth of Forth bounds the view with North Berwick Law, the Links of Gullane, and the Bass Rock on the one side, and on its northern shore the kingdom of Fife.

Immediately below, and filling up the intervening space the eye rests on the wooded grounds of Prestonfield, the little loch dotted over with swans, coots, and other waterfowl, the quaint old church on its rocky perch overlooking the loch, and surrounded by the red-tiled houses of the village of Wester Duddingston, peeping out so snugly from among their setting of trees. "'Tis a mere toy village," says Alexander Smith, "breathing soft smoke pillars, breathing fruit-tree fragrance. The quietest place in the whole world you would say, not a creature to be seen in the little bit of a street visible, silent as Pompeii itself, motion only on the lake

when the coot shoots across the surface, or when a swan in thrusting its long neck under water, tilts itself upward in its own preposterous fashion. Low-lying, sunshiny, umbrageous, a place where in summer you may expect plenty of dust in the narrow streets, plenty of drowsy bees around the double-flowered white and purple stocks in the gardens; plenty of flies buzzing in the sunny parlour windows."

Beyond the village is the well-wooded park of Duddingston, with the classic portico of the Duke of Abercorn's mansion, and rural temples peeping out from among the foliage, while beyond the park the eye rests on the well-cultivated fields of some of the finest farms to be found in Scotland. Beside the blue sparkling waters of the sea, the church spires and houses of Portobello are also visible from our high vantage ground; and as we follow the coast line, we may distinguish the hamlets of Joppa and Magdalene Bridge, flanked by the Burgh of Musselburgh and the spire of Inveresk Church.

The parish of Duddingston is not extensive, being only 3¾ miles in its extreme length from east to west—from Magdalene Bridge to Prestonfield—while its extreme breadth along the shore is only two miles, tapering inland to a few hundred yards at Prestonfield. In shape it somewhat resembles a triangle, or half-opened fan, gradually spreading itself out towards the sea, which may be considered the base of the triangle. The line of boundary on both the north and south sides is considerably broken, and follows no well marked natural feature for any great distance. On the south it coincides with the Niddrie or Magdalene Burn from the sea to the south-east corner of Duddingston Policies, north of the Suburban Railway, and thence along the Railway to Duddingston Station. Until a year or two ago the mansion and park of Prestonfield formed a part of the parish, but they are now included in Edinburgh; so that the new western boundary line follows the cross road from Duddingston Station to the Loch.

But as our history deals with the parish as it was, we must explain that the old boundary extended from this point westward by Peffermill, and along the turnpike road, on to the Dalkeith Road, where it turned northward past Salisbury Green and St Leonard's, to the Queen's Park. The old stone wall separating the Prestonfield property from the Royal Park, was the boundary up to Duddingston Loch, which was also formerly included.

Following the high wall that ascends the hill northwards from the lodge near to Duddingston Church, we reach a point near to Jock's Lodge, where the boundary takes a turn due east to the junction of the Leith branch of the North British Railway with the Fishwives' Causeway.* Here it follows the line of roadway to the turn of the road where the King's Road separates the Parish of Duddingston from the Parish of Leith. The present irregular division from Jock's Lodge to the sea, passing through the fields, marks no doubt the position of the old Roman Road, of which only a fragment now remains.

From our elevated position on the "Upper Drive," nearly the whole area embraced within the bounds of the parish is visible at a glance. A steep descent on the east shoulder of the hill brings us to what is called the "Lower Drive" near the margin of the loch, which is the road most usually frequented by pedestrians from Edinburgh. Here there is a keeper's lodge with gates, for the "Drive" is within the Royal Park of Holyrood. Formerly there was no carriage way direct to Duddingston, but a rough footpath wended its course in a mysterious fashion from St Leonard's past the base of "Samson's Ribs," and over the rocks of the "Wyndy Gowl" and the "Hangman's Crag." Before the present road was made in 1856-7, the entrance to the village was by a narrow lane (or loan) some six feet wide, between two high stone walls; but now the "Drive" is continued up past the Church, completely intersecting what was at one time a spacious tea garden, in which visitors found abundance of "fruits in their seasons," along with other creature comforts which to some are always seasonable! In the little old-fashioned inn, which rather discourteously presented its back to the Royal Park, or in the arbours which surrounded the well-stocked gardens, merry parties from the city found of old much that was attractive. The village indeed was famous for its inns (or, as we would now say, alehouses), for there were no less than seven or eight of them. It was a "refuge for the weary" and a place of refreshment, whether on Sunday or Saturday, long before Forbes Mackenzie Acts and Local Option were thought of. The famous "Sheephead Inn" still stands, though somewhat altered now and bereft of much of the picturesque quaintness that once distinguished its pretty little garden, with its fountains,

* Formerly up till 1895 the Fishwives' Causeway and the Figgate Burn were the western boundary.

statues, rustic seats, and jessamine-covered bowers. "Here," we are told by the Rev. Mr Bennet, the minister of the parish at the end of last century, "many opulent citizens resorted in the summer months to solace themselves on one of the ancient homely dishes of Scotland, for which the place has long been celebrated." Nor was it lacking in Royal patronage, for before the Union of the Crowns, when Scotland's King dwelt on the other side of the hill, in his Palace of Holyrood, it was no uncommon thing, it is said, for James VI. to be found taking refreshment under its hospitable though humble roof. In token of some such favours, tradition has it that he presented to the landlord of the "Sheephead," in the year 1580, an embellished ram's head and horns which long adorned its principal apartment.* Though now the sheephead broth may not be in much demand, the "Trotters' Club" of Edinburgh Pressmen keep up the traditions of the place by periodical visits for a friendly game at skittles.

* The ram's head referred to was one of a dun-faced breed which, though common in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh three hundred years ago, is now, if not extinct, very scarce. This curiosity, which seems to have been adorned with gold ornaments, found its way into the collection of the late J. L. D. Stewart, Esq., of Glen Ogil, Forfarshire, and on his death was, along with his other properties, sold in Edinburgh by Messrs Dowell in 1888.

From *The Witty and Entertaining Exploits of George Buchanan* (commonly called the King's Fool). . . . Sold in Niddry's Wynd 1781, we make the following curious extracts:—

P. 42.—"In a conversation with a nobleman about towns in England and Scotland, George says:—'I know one town [in Scotland] where there is an hundred bone bridges in it; another town where there is fifty draw bridges in it; another town where if a man commits [any crime] if he runs to that town and gets in below a stair no law nor justice can harm him.' [The nobleman offered to bet £100 that there were no such places in Europe besides Scotland, and two men were sent to Scotland to test the truth of the story.] 'The first [town] was Duddingston, near Edinburgh. When they came and asked for the bone bridges there, the people showed them steps almost between every door of the skulls of sheep heads which they used as stepping stones. The second was Auchterarder, where there is a large strand which runs through the middle of the town, and almost at every door there is almost a stock or stone laid over the strand whereon they past to their opposite neighbours; and when a flood came they could lift their wooden bridges in case they would be taken away, and these they called their draw bridges. The third was a village near Camburston [*sic*] which they past thro' from the one end to the other, but there was not a stair in it all. So they returned to England and told what manner of bone and draw bridges they were, and how there was not a stair in all that place, therefore no man could run in below it."

Considerable licence was allowed to these inns, for except during the hours of public worship on Sundays, there was no restriction as to when they might be open or closed. We rather fear in too many cases the drouthy parishioners, like Tam o' Shanter, "drank as long as they had siller," and in consequence the supervision of the Kirk Session was frequently taxed to the utmost in the preservation of morals and the peace of the Sabbath. We shall have occasion further on to give some curious examples from the local records of Church discipline arising therefrom.

How and when Duddingston came by its name are points involved in considerable obscurity. In the early Statistical Account of Scotland (1796) Duddingston is said to be derived from a Gaelic word meaning "the house on the sunny side of the hill." This is a correct enough description of the village, but the word is evidently of Saxon origin.

Of the many different immigrants who, since the Roman occupation, have settled in the Scottish lowlands, the Saxon and Norse Colonists have both left their impress in the names of places which they gave from their own family names. Most of the Norman settlers either retained their old seignorial surnames —as De Vesci, De Morevil, De Brus, etc., or assumed local designations from the territories they acquired. The Saxon and Norse Colonists, being perhaps usually of inferior rank and power, remained longer without that which soon became a badge of gentility. From them were named most of the places which bear the Saxon termination of *toun**, and these, by a curious alternation, in a short time afforded surnames to their proprietors; thus Orm gave the name to Ormiston, Leving to Levingston, Elphin to Elphinston, and so on.

In like manner Duddingston has its derivation from being the settlement of a family of the name of Dodin prior to the twelfth century. We find the family name common enough in England, appearing in various forms in Worcester, Northampton, Herts, Wilts, and Northumberland as that of landed proprietors. In A.D. 715 one Doddo was the founder of the Monastery of Tewksbury. And we have such place-names as Dudding, Dodanford,

* The word originally meant an "enclosure or hedge," indicating at first no more important a settlement than we think of in Scotland when we still speak about the "fairm toon."

Doddesthorp, Doddings-down, etc.* In Scottish charters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the name was generally written "Dodinstun," but this spelling, of course, is not uniformly adhered to. In the chartulary of Kelso there is a charter giving the church of Sympering—or Swinton—with its pertinents to the Abbot of Kelso, and the church of St Mary in the reign of King Malcolm IV., the grandson of David I., between the years 1153 and 1165. Among the signatures to this document is to be found that of "Dodine de Dodinestun." A subsequent charter written in the following reign, viz., of William the Lion (1165-1214), in which a gift of the church of Bolton with a piece of land, is made to the Abbey of Holyrood, has, among other witnesses, the name of "Hugo, Filius Dodini de Dodinestun"—that is Hugh, the son of Dodin of Dodinestun. A few years after, confirmation of this grant is made by Sir William Viponte (or Sir Wm. de Vetere Ponte), which bears to be witnessed by "Hugo, de ville Dodin" —that is, "Hugh of the town of Dodin," which would seem to indicate that his father was now dead, and that Hugh was the owner of the patrimony.

Dodin was a man of means and position as is evident not only from his owning the "lands of Dodinestun," but from his holding property elsewhere. His name appears in a charter by Herbert, the First Abbot of Kelso, after his appointment as Bishop of Glasgow, making a grant to the Abbey "of the Church of Lintun Ruderick," etc., "which Dodin gifted to me." Assuming that this refers to "Dodin of Dodinestun," this grant to Herbert must have been made by Dodin previous to 1147, as it was in that year that the Abbot was appointed to the Bishopric of Glasgow.

For 400 years the Abbots of Kelso were feudal superiors of the Barony of Duddingston, over which, until the Reformation, they exercised jurisdiction by a Bailie of Regality. From an examination of the charters of Kelso Abbey, it appears that for about one hundred years at least, the influence of the family of Dodin in Duddingston was felt. Thus, in Abbot Herbert's time (the second Abbot of that name), 1221-1240, we find the grandson renouncing some of the rights and privileges which Dodin and his son Hugh had held in the barony. Abbot Henry (1208-1210) at the end of the long reign of William the Lion, had granted to

* See Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici;* and Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, 1897.

Reginald de Boscho the lands of Easter Duddingston, with the half of the peatery of Camberun, for which he paid 10 merks yearly, and this was confirmed by his successor to Thomas, the son of Reginald, and his heirs in these words :—"The whole lands of Easter Dodinestun, etc., with all its pertinents, etc., which Richard, the son of Hugh, quit claimed (or renounced) to us," *i.e.*, to the Abbot. This document bears the signature, among many others as witnesses, of William de Boscho, the then Chancellor of Scotland, and Ricardo de Dodinestun. But though we have thus in evidence three generations of the family of Dodin, it is not at all improbable that the connection of this family with the parish dates further back than even the year 1147 ; and it seems beyond all dispute that from them the parish, with its two villages, derived the name it now bears.

At this early period we do not, of course, expect to find a high condition of civil or religious development. Neither in agriculture, trade, nor commerce is there much to boast of, but we shall endeavour, as we go along, to unfold the various elements that go to the making of the community of even so small a parish as this.

Before the twelfth century we have no documentary evidence throwing light on our local history. Conjecture, founded upon general history and antiquarian discoveries, must satisfy our curiosity. The social condition of the country from the earliest known times was one of unrest. The people were few, and yet there was a constant and eager competition among them for the possession of the land. Strife and bloodshed among the original natives were of constant occurrence, until a more formidable foe appeared among them. Then, in the hour of common danger, a common cause united them against the invader.

The Roman power, which from the days of Agricola (A.D. 81) had overrun and occupied a large part of the country south of the Forth and Clyde, and afterwards extended its conquests considerably north of these rivers, was the first formidable outside enemy with which the natives had to contend. Their resistance, though stubborn and fierce, was ineffectual against the vastly superior arms and tactics of the well-disciplined Roman Legions, and with them came the first lessons to the native tribes in civilisation and Christianity. Before the superior race the inferior bowed and submitted to be taught, yet without abating any of its bravery and hardihood. The most ancient name by which the Romans desig-

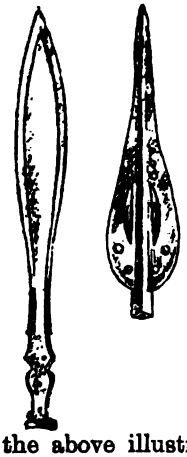
nated the northern part of Britain appears to have been Caledonia, and the various tribes who inhabited it were indiscriminately called by them Caledonians. As "Caioll" signifies wood in Celtic, the Caledonii of the Roman writers has been supposed, with probability, to be a classical transformation of "Caoill daion," "people of the woods." Others are of opinion that Caledonia is a Roman corruption of the Gaelic words "Gael-doch," the district of the Gael.

The condition of the Caledonians at the time of Agricola's invasion very much resembled that of the tribes in South Britain in the time of Julius Cæsar. They were little removed in the scale of social life or of civil government from rude savages. Cæsar informs us that in the interior of the island the Caledonians never sowed their lands, but followed the occupations of the hunter and the shepherd, clad in the skins, and living on the flesh and milk of their flocks and herds and the spoils of the chase. At this period extensive forests and marshes covered nearly the whole face of the country ; the bear and the wolf lurked in its thickets and caves, and the bison, the moose deer, the Caledonian bull, and the wild boar roamed through its wastes.

And yet among the Caledonians who fought or fled from the advancing Roman as his Legions first cast their eyes on the blue waters of the Firth of Forth, from the rising ground of Inveresk or Soutra Hill, there were some skilled in the construction of weapons of iron. The Flint age was gone, to be succeeded by the age of Bronze, and at that time, in all probability, the greater part of the weapons of war and implements of culture were of this material. But evidence is not wanting that a superior metal had already become known to them, and had been largely adopted. With the advent of the Roman passed away the Bronze age of the Caledonian. In the making of bronze implements considerable skill had been attained, and specimens of remarkable beauty and finish have frequently been discovered throughout the country. Remains both Roman and native have been found in our parish at various times. We have in our possession an interesting relic of the Roman occupation in the shape of a copper coin picked up a few years ago in a field near Portobello, in the immediate neighbourhood of the old Roman road, vulgarly called the Fishwives' Causeway. It bears the image and superscription of Faustina Anna Galeria, the wife of the Emperor Antoninus

Pius, and the mother of the wife of his successor Marcus Aurelius. Faustina, who was noted for her beauty, but whose character was none of the best, died A.D. 141, about the time of the completion of the Great Wall erected by her husband between the Firths of Forth and Clyde—commonly called the Wall of Antoninus—and this coin, struck in her honour in the first half of the second century, was doubtless dropped by one of the soldiers of the British Legion on the way from the camp at Inveresk to one or other of the many stations on the Wall. Strange it is that through all these seventeen centuries the kindly soil should have preserved for us the features of this fair but faithless Roman beauty.

In the year 1778, in digging for marl in Duddingston Loch, a large heap of warlike weapons was discovered—swords, spear heads of plain and ornamental patterns, rings and staples, and "lumps of brass." From the fact that the "lumps of brass" seemed as if half melted, and that gigantic deers' horns, and fragments of others were discovered along with the weapons and masses of melted bronze, it has been conjectured, with some probability, that a considerable manufactory of bronze weapons had been carried on at some remote period on the margin of the loch. Some of the most perfect and beautiful of these weapons are now in the Abbotsford Museum, and about fifty pieces of swords, spear heads, and other fragments of weapons, most of them more or less affected by fire, are in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh. The swords, as will be observed from the above illustrations, are of the leaf-shaped form, with perforated handles, to which bone or wood had been attached. Some of the large spear heads have been pierced with a variety of ornamental perforations. During the construction of the Queen's Drive in 1846, almost directly above the Loch two most beautiful and perfect leaf-shaped bronze swords were dug up in a bed of vegetable charcoal, and they are now in the Museum. The bronze spear heads present a great variety of forms of ornamental devices. The Scottish bronze dagger of the same period is almost invariably found to consist of a two-edged blade, tapering



to a point, and perforated with holes for attaching a handle to it by means of rivets. Bronze bucklers have also been found in various places, and some of wood full of brass nails. The circular Highland target is closely formed on the model of these bronze shields, even retaining the boss in the centre of the target, which was intended to receive and protect the hand, though the Highlanders, like the ancient Romans, wore the shield on the arm. "A striking instance," says Sir Daniel Wilson, in his *Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, "of the tenacity with which Celtic races are found to cling to ancient customs."

To whom did these relics originally belong? and how came they there? are questions more easily asked than answered. Were they the property of the old Caledonians, or of some anterior race whose name and story have been for ever lost, but whose property has survived them, and is remarkably dragged into the light of day in the reign of his august Majesty George III.?

We shall not attempt to answer what can at best be only a matter of merest conjecture—

> "Their memory and their name are gone,
> Alike unknowing and unknown."

And yet these spear heads, swords, rings, and lumps of brass have a story to tell. Sir Daniel Wilson in one of his works—*Reminiscences of Edinburgh*—has hazarded the opinion that Duddingston Loch was at one time, in long ages past, the site of a lake village; that there, on the very spot where this mass of metal had sunk, was not only a manufactory of brass weapons, but that the villagers had their huts built on strong piles driven into the water, for along with the weapons, were fished up from the bottom "human skulls, the remains doubtless of the old artificers who there wrought cunningly in brass after the fashion of such primitive times."

His evidence for this theory is taken from a statement made to himself by Dr Thomson of Leamington, a son of the Rev. John Thomson, minister of Duddingston at the beginning of the century. "Dr Thomson," he says, "recalls to memory that when in youthful days he went out with his father to fish or to sketch on the lake they were wont to secure their boats to wooden *piles*, which have long since disappeared. There, however, we may assume stood in some old century of Scotland's bronze period, a

lake habitation, constructed on piles. Safe in their island home, the occupants of the Duddingston pile dwellings sojourned under the shadow of Arthur Seat, and buried their dead on the neighbouring slopes. But the day of doom came at last. Dr Thomson speaks of the piles looking as if they had been charred. The effect of the fire is still more manifest on the half-melted bronze weapons dredged up from the loch. Their condition suggests the idea of a pile village of ample proportions and substantial structure, which yielded slowly to the fury of the flames, and so subjected its armoury to a protracted conflagration before the half-melted weapons sank hissing to the bottom of the lake. Invaded, whether by neighbouring tribes or by foreign intruders, the lake dwellers perished with their ingeniously constructed habitations, and when next the banks of the little lake attracted settlers, and a village arose where the old Norman Church overhangs the lake, and the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep, new arts, and another race had supplanted those of the bronze workers of Duddingston. It is not to be doubted, however, that many curious relics still lie undisturbed among the roots of the piles, and it was one of the favourite projects of Sir James Y. Simpson to have the site of the pile village explored, and so to determine by the recovered relics some ample details of the arts and habits of the primitive lake dwellers of Arthur Seat." Sir Daniel's views have been ably supported by Dr Robert Chambers, Lord Rosehill, and others.

Compared with these early settlers and bronze workers of the pile driving age, the Gael or Pict of Roman times appears but of yesterday. The progress of primitive civilization had been slow, and yet it had its peculiarities and its characteristics. The habits and customs of the natives were to their Roman conquerors rude and barbarous, but there are not wanting evidences that even then some progress in the arts of domestic life had been made. Stone querns or hand mills, vessels of bronze consisting of various culinary and domestic utensils, such as pots, caldrons, tripods, goblets and bowls, horns and drinking cups, earthenware, plain and decorated, both for domestic use and for religious worship, sepulchral vases and urns, personal ornaments of horn, teeth of animals, jet or shale, with beads of glass and pebble have frequently been found in sepulchral deposits in various parts of the parish.

The sepulchres of our early Caledonian forefathers, from which such articles as we have enumerated have been recovered, indicate two different modes of burial in early times for persons of rank. The common mode probably did not differ from that of the present day, but the bodies of their chiefs were for the most part consigned to their last resting-place under circumstances of pomp and ceremony, in some cases under great cairns of stones or tumuli, and at other times under immense mounds of earth and barrows. The cairns or tumuli are the largest and most numerous of the Scottish sepulchral mounds; many of them containing chambers regularly built, and of considerable size.

These, in many cases, reveal evidence of the practice of cremation, a common, but by no means universal practice in those early ages. Sometimes the body was burned, and the ashes and bones placed in clay urns which were again deposited in stone cists, but frequently the body was simply interred within the stone cist or coffin, and the probability is that it was only the bodies of such persons as occupied a leading place in the tribe who were dignified with such burial. The rank and file of the common people are more than likely to have been interred without any such formalities; and, of course, all trace of their remains have long since disappeared.

In the parish of Duddingston the bronze period has left some traces of its burial customs, preserved to us by these stone cists and clay urns. In 1881, while workmen were excavating a piece of ground lying between Magdalene Bridge and Eastfield Cottages, on the north side of the high road from Edinburgh to Musselburgh, they discovered a large cinerary urn filled with calcined human bones; this led to the discovery of other six urns all enclosed in stone cists, varying in size from 10½ to 16 inches high, and to the circumstance that some had covering stones and others had not. All the urns contained calcined bones. In one, the bones showed traces of the green stain characteristic of contact with bronze, but only the merest fragment of an implement was found. In another urn, however, was found a small oval bronze blade, which is now in the Antiquarian Museum. Besides these urns there were also discovered a stone cist with a male skeleton in a fine state of preservation, but without any object along with it except a small chip of flint; a stone cist quite empty, another small cist with a small urn three or four inches

high, which crumbled to fragments; and a skeleton without a coffin, said to be that of a full-grown female. All these different interments were from four to six feet below the level of the ground, and about three feet down in the bed of sand. The piece of ground in which these remains were found lies along the sea shore, and is now faced with heavy stones towards the sea, and partly built upon, but tradition points to similar urns having been found formerly in the same locality.



CINERARY URNS—
MAGDALENE BRIDGE COLLECTION.

In a note on the subject Dr Joseph Anderson says :—

"The urns found in this remarkable cemetery are all of the same form and character. They belong to the largest variety of sepulchral vessels formed of clay, and some of them are specially remarkable on account of their size and the elaborate nature of their ornamentation. They all contained burnt bones and ashes, and are therefore cinerary urns, *i.e.*, they are receptacles in which the bones of the burnt bodies were placed within the cists or graves in which they were deposited. They are the usual form of the cinerary urns of the Bronze age—the lower part plain and flower-pot shaped, and the upper part more or less decorated." *

In 1821 three stone coffins were discovered under a tumulus of sand midway between Portobello and Craigentinnie. These were rudely put together, and each contained a human skeleton. "The bones were quite entire," says the *Weekly Journal* for that year, "and from their position it would appear that the bodies had been buried with their legs across. At the head of each was deposited a number of flints. The cavities of the skeletons were quite filled with vegetable matter."

During the construction of the carriage way round Arthur's Seat in 1846, while the workmen were excavating the soil immediately above "Samson's Ribs," they uncovered a sepulchral deposit containing a cinerary urn, which was unfortunately broken

* *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. IV., new series 1882, pp. 419-429.

to fragments by the stroke of a shovel. Further to the eastward, two at least, and probably more, bronze celts of large size were found, along with a small cup or lamp of symmetrical form, and ornamented with a uniform pattern. In the same locality, five bronze swords, said to be the finest of the kind ever found in Scotland, have also been unearthed.

In January 1895, a stone cist was discovered close to the North British Railway Station, Portobello (south side), at a depth of about three feet, built of stone slabs evidently split for the purpose, 44 by 47 inches *inside*, with two large stones covering it. Nothing was found but a little calcined clay matter and an accumulation of sand, which had filtered in.

We have a curious reference in a charter of Kelso Abbey, granted about 1466, to a cairn of stones which stood near the south-east corner of the garden wall at Mount Lodge, Portobello. In the charter, where it is referred to as forming part of the boundary of the lands of Figgate, it is described as "a certain heap of stones there deposited." It has long since disappeared, but it must have been of considerable size, and in all probability marked the site of an ancient place of sepulture.



CHAPTER II.

UNTIL the middle of last century little appreciable alteration appears to have been made on the outward aspect of the parish from the days of the Dodins of that Ilk. Its roads were few, narrow, and ill-made, being for the most part mere bridle paths. The villages were badly built and the houses covered with thatch. The tillage of the land was of the most primitive kind, and anything in the way of trade or manufactures was practically unknown. Until within a recent period various employments of the people in the parish of Duddingston were of a limited kind, chiefly agriculture, weaving, coal mining, salt making, and quarrying.

This is all the more remarkable when we consider the advantages which its close proximity to the capital might be supposed to bring. That the soil was capable of extraordinary productiveness has since been amply verified by the high state of cultivation to which it has of late been brought; and that its geological formation was favourable to the development of trade has also been exemplified in the coal and clay fields, which have supported for many years a large population on parts of the parish formerly described as "an unproductive waste."

The first recorded census of the parish was made in 1755 by Dr Webster, when the population was found to amount to 989, and there is no evidence to show that at any time previous it had ever exceeded this. Most of these resided in the villages of Easter and Wester Duddingston and Magdalene Bridge; for even up to that time the farm offices were so inadequate, that the agricultural population resided mostly within the villages.

Very slowly, but bit by bit, here a patch and there a field reclaimed from moor or forest were being added to the land under cultivation. New roadways were being formed and old ones diverted to suit altered conditions. Peat as a fuel gave place to

coal, which was found in abundance near the sea, thus creating a trade with the capital and causing the building of Joppa and a large extension of Easter Duddingston. Along the shore from Joppa to Musselburgh several salt pans produced a large quantity of salt for home and foreign consumption.

It took a long time, however, to bring about these changes. From the twelfth century, when first any authentic record of the parish is to be found, till 1755 is a long period of time, full no doubt of stirring events and progress of a kind, but not very productive of either social or physical improvement.

Previous to the former period we have reason to believe that the greater part of the parish was covered with wood, affording cover for game of all kinds. Even at a much later period, in the immediate vicinity of Edinburgh, the Forest of Drumselch, and the Burgh Moor or "Myre," were in a condition of primitive wildness, "full of aged oaks," "as well as of hartis, hynds, toddis, and sic like manner of bestis," including the wild boar, the fox, the badger, and the otter, not to speak of whole colonies of rabbits and hares in the open sandy knolls near the shore, where the Figgate flowed limpid and clear into the sea.

That the forest at one time extended down to the margin of the sea appears from the fact that the trunks of large oak trees have frequently been found not only in abundance in the vicinity of Duddingston Loch, in the old peat moss of Cambrune or Cameron, but imbedded in the clay of the Figgate Burn at Portobello. Here at one time there was a considerable estuary, which in process of time came to be silted up with drift sand from the beach, leaving only a narrow channel for the stream. The Forest of Drumselch, or the King's Forest as it was sometimes called, no doubt included the Forest of Figgate. In the Charter granted by King David I. in 1128, for the erection of the Monastery of the Holy Cross—or Holyrood—the monks acquired the privilege of sending thither their hogs to feed; and at a later time Sir William Wallace is said to have found shelter with two hundred of his followers at the Figgate whins, described as "formerly a forest," preparatory to the successful raid made by him in 1297 on the North of England. Whether the same liberty, as was allowed in 1500 by the Magistrates of Edinburgh, to cut down the timber on the Burgh Moor for building purposes, was allowed in Duddingston we cannot say; but it seems clear that by that time, in the parish of



DUDDINGSTON LOCH AND CHURCH.

(From a Photo. by Mr J. Partick, Edinburgh.)

Duddingston, the forest had largely disappeared, its place being taken by heath-covered moorland, and near the shore by sand-blown furze-covered downs.

But once more the scene has undergone a change, for the heath-covered moorland is now the finest of arable land, and the sand-blown downs have been transformed into the streets of a flourishing town.

It may be safely affirmed that there is no parish in the country where the land is better cultivated and yields better returns than Duddingston. The farmers are, as a rule, men of standing and means, capital being essential to the successful prosecution of their calling. Their energy and enterprise have frequently been acknowledged and encouraged by the landlords. The duration of the leases extends from fifteen to nineteen years and the farms vary in size from 130 to 250 acres. No better farm buildings can anywhere be seen; offices and steadings being commodious, and the dwelling houses models of comfort and elegance. The fields, as a rule, are large, well laid out, and fenced with thorn hedges; few stone walls being seen in the rural part of the parish.

From the Statistical Account of 1845, we learn that the total number of acres then included in the parish was 1450. At that time 800 acres were under cultivation, while the other 650 were either under wood or water, meadow land and pasture, or feued. Stock rearing and grazing at one time were much in vogue, but the cultivation of cereals is now more in favour. High rents are the rule, from £4 to £5 per acre being the average in the parish; while grass parks and meadow land, where there is artificial irrigation, bring a much higher rent. As an index to the increase in the value of the land, we may mention that before 1746, when leases were unknown and had never been given to the tenants, the medium rent per acre was 10s. In some cases it was as low as 5s for the arable land of an inferior quality, with an interest in the commons for which no rent was demanded. Even in 1794 rents averaged only £2 2s per acre.

The lands of Prestonfield were the first in the parish, if not in the county, to be improved by artificial cultivation. Sir James Dick, the proprietor of the estate at the time of the Revolution in 1688, was Provost of Edinburgh. At that period the streets of the city were kept in an intolerably filthy state, with the result that plagues were of common occurrence. Provost Dick, being a

man of energy and enterprise, availed himself of the general anxiety to have this state of matters remedied, and undertook to clean the streets and closes of the fulzie with which they were littered. He had it carried off regularly to his Prestonfield estate, where he began to enclose and drain, with the result that in the course of a few years it became one of the finest properties in the county.

About sixty or seventy years afterwards, when the Barony of Duddingston had come into the hands of the Abercorn family, a similar course of treatment was applied to the district of country between Wester Duddingston and Easter Duddingston seawards —excluding, perhaps, the stretch of sand downs between the high road and the sea. The soil here, which was light and sandy, consisting of a brownish-coloured earth, seldom more than sixteen inches deep and sometimes not even that, was incapable of bearing year by year heavy crops. But by artificial manuring, draining, and irrigation, with the application of modern improvements, we have it on good authority that "there is not a more highly cultivated parish in Scotland, nor one which resembles more the rich champaign of England in its general aspect."

The Earl of Abercorn who, about the year 1751, did so much to stimulate the agricultural prosperity of the parish, had a home farm attached to his park till the end of last century, and we believe the interest he evinced in its success did much to encourage the farmers in the neighbourhood. We learn from the account of a celebrated criminal trial which took place in 1788, where William Brodie, one of the members of the Edinburgh Town Council, was condemned for complicity in the robbing of the Excise Office, that the coulter of a plough which the burglars used for prizing open the doors was stolen from the Earl's farm at Duddingston.

Prior to 1746, the tenants possessed their land in "run-ridge" or "run-dale," the peculiarity of which was that the land was divided into long narrow strips, separated from each other by green ridges of turf popularly known as "balks." This system arose from the practice of joint cultivation by the natives of a village, each holding consisting of a number of these strips. In addition to this, the villagers had the right to the commons, upon which they pastured their cattle.

There appear to have been of old two commons, one for Easter and another for Wester Duddingston. The common of the

former village extended from the north side of the village westward to the Figgate Burn, occupying the ground now taken up by Joppa Quarry, Duddingston Mains, and the railway, northward to the back garden walls of East and West Brighton Crescents. It was known as the Figgate Myre or Moor. This in all likelihood had remained unbroken pasture or moorland till about the middle of last century. In recent times, when stone walls and fences came to be erected along the King's highway (now the high road through Portobello), access to this common from the road was provided at the "Black Roads," or Brunstane Road, and another near to Hope's Lane, where a little shieling, named "Pike a Plea," stood on the site of the present blacksmith's shop.

The common for the use of Wester Duddingston adjoined the Loch, and, as we learn from a letter from James V. to the Edinburgh Town Council in 1536, it marched with the Edinburgh Burgh Moor, and "the tenentis of Duddingstoun has kepit and defendit their use and possessioun of the said common myre past memorie of man." When or how the right of the tenants of Duddingston over their common ceased we have been unable to discover. Gradual appropriation by the superiors has been condoned by too long a lapse of time now for their rights to be called in question.

In reference to the domestic comfort, mode of living, and general condition of the rural population of the parish in olden times, we may remark that until the middle of last century these were not satisfactory. So long as the land was poor and unproductive, luxury or even comfort as now understood was rarely found in the cottages of the peasantry. The dwellings were of the rudest and cheapest construction, made of such materials as came readiest to hand; and both in respect to furnishings and sanitary arrangements they were sadly deficient.

According to Hugh Arnot, it appears that in the reign of James I. (1406-37) the houses within the city of Edinburgh were not at that time more than twenty feet high, and even in the sixteenth century the smaller churches were generally covered with thatch. The houses or towers of the gentry were built with a view to defence, but were small and confined, and exhibited an absolute ignorance of every art or refinement in domestic life. The remains of the castles of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and the stately abbeys of Dunfermline, Melrose, Arbroath,

Kelso, and Jedburgh, display in their ruins the magnificence of their architecture. These with the royal residences in Edinburgh and Stirling Castles, Holyrood, Linlithgow, Falkland, and Scone, no doubt showed some attainment in comfort; but as for household furniture, the highest in the land possessed few things which in the present day could claim to be ranked in the servant's hall. "Queen Mary brought with her from France arras hangings, carpets, and various kinds of household furniture, and it is uncertain if these were known in Scotland at an earlier date; even then they were so rare and valuable as to be used only on high festivals, after which the hangings were taken from their tenter-hooks, and carefully deposited till returning Christmas." *

The interior walls were frequently lined with wood, but as frequently showed simply the bare stones or plaster, which, as at Craigmillar and Borthwick Castles, were sometimes ornamented with rude paintings or inscriptions. The only furniture in the hall of a great baron were large standing tables, forms, and cupboards without locks and keys. The inmates took their meals out of wooden dishes which they called treen (*i.e.*, wooden) plates, used wooden or horn spoons, and drank out of wooden cups. "To see silver, except in the monasteries and cathedrals, was a miracle, and even pewter vessels were esteemed so rare and costly as to be used only upon Christmas and other high festivals." Wretched as these articles were it would appear from Arnot's account that Scotland could not produce them; they had to be purchased abroad. In 1430 "eight dozen of pewter dishes, a hundred dozen of wooden cups, a bason and ewer, three saddles, a dozen skins of red leather, five dozen ells of woollen cloth, and twenty casks of wine were imported from London for the use of the Scottish King, Robert III. If their furniture was mean it was also scanty, for when a great baron removed from one of his houses to another, he found it necessary to carry along with him his beds, hangings, kitchen utensils, etc." †

Froissart, in his account of the reception of John de Vienne, Admiral of France, when he came to Scotland with his troops in 1385 to assist Robert II. in his invasion of England, mentions that "the French founde a wylde countrey of Scotland," and there being only four thousand houses in Edinburgh altogether, and not sufficient to accommodate the Frenchmen, "there-

* *Holinshead's History.* † *Ibid.*

fore it behoved these lordes and knyghts to be lodged about in the neighbouring villages," Duddingston doubtless among the rest. That they were anything but welcome to the people even as allies, Froissart soon discovered, for he says, "they dyde murmure and grudge, and sayde, who the devyll hath sent for them? Cannot we mayntayne our warr with England well enoughe without their helpe?" . . . "They understand not us nor we theym; they will annone ryffle and eat up all that ever we have in this countrey. They shall do us more dispytes and damages than though the Englyshmen shulde fyght with us; for thoughe the Englyshmen bruine [burn] our houses, we care lytell therefore, we shall make them agayne chepe enoughe; we axe but three days to make them agayne, if we maye get foure or fyve stakes and bows to cover them." They evidently did not break their hearts over the destruction of their dwellings in those days!

If such was the domestic poverty of the Scottish nobility and the citizens of Edinburgh in olden times, what might we expect to be the condition of the artisan, the husbandman, and the peasant? The rude huts which in these times composed the villages of Easter and Wester Duddingston, built of wood and covered with thatch—the former from the forest surrounding their doors, and the latter from the reeds surrounding the Loch—gave place, no doubt, in time to cottages of stone. But even these must have been of the most primitive kind, with little furniture, and few of what we now deem "the necessaries of life."

Both the principal villages of the parish have been occupied chiefly by a weaving and agricultural population for centuries. In Easter and Wester Duddingston the trade of weaving was carried on for many years down to the last century; the manufacture of a coarse flaxen stuff, known by the name of Duddingston hardings giving employment to upwards of thirty weavers' looms. This cloth, which sold from 3½d to 4d per yard, has long ceased to be produced. During the latter part of last century the manufacture of Scotch broad cloth was carried on at Magdalene Bridge, and with some success for a time. But it was ultimately given up, and a manufactory of hats took its place. The latter was also given up, and of late years chemical works were carried on under various names, but they too have been closed since 1865, and the site is now (1898) occupied by a large malting house. Magdalene Bridge and Joppa were

orginally occupied by the salters connected with the salt pans there, but during the last century and the beginning of the present, the population of Joppa and Easter Duddingston was largely augmented by the colliers employed in the various pits in that part of the parish.

At the beginning of last century, before wheeled carts were in general use, Easter Duddingston furnished thirty-six horses to carry coals in sacks or creels to Edinburgh. At that time the village contained upwards of 500 inhabitants, or more than one-half the population of the parish.

Magdalene Bridge is supposed to take its name from its close proximity to an ancient chapel dedicated to St Magdalene which stood on the high ground to the east of the stream now within the grounds of New Hailes. It is sometimes in old maps and histories named Maitland Bridge, from the fact of the land at one time being owned by the Duke of Lauderdale—Maitland being the Duke's family name.

There is no authentic information as to how Joppa came to be named. During last century it was quite a common thing to adopt Scripture names as names of places, and the fact of the hamlet being close to the sea, no doubt suggested itself to the founder, whoever he may have been, as somewhat resembling its prototype in Palestine.*

To the Abbots of Kelso, as feudal superiors, the proprietors of the soil, their tenants, and cottagers in many parishes of the south of Scotland were bound in services and dues in a variety of ways. A common exaction from the latter was their being bound to assist the landlord in the washing and shearing of his sheep. Another was that from every house of every hamlet belonging to the monastery, the Abbot took a hen at Christmas for a half-penny.

Whether these were in force in Duddingston is doubtful. We are inclined to think there was only the usual feudal obligations of tenants to landlords, while, as we shall afterwards see, the payment by the latter to the monastery was *in silver*, to be paid "at our chapel of Wester Duddingston."

The "breweries" and "mills with their multures and water courses" are commonly referred to in the old charters as belong-

* Many such instances of the use of Scripture names are to be found in the south side of Edinburgh; one or two in Haddington, and several in Ayrshire.

ing to the landlord. Of the former all trace has been lost, but there have apparently been two mills in the parish from time immemorial. One near to Magdalene Bridge—now called Brunstane Mill—served the people of Easter Duddingston, the other for Wester Duddingston, on the Figgate Burn, is still in active operation. Both mills have been much enlarged, and now do more than a merely parochial business.

With regard to the condition of the cultivators of the soil, the free farmers or tenants enjoyed the right of settling in any part of the kingdom, and these, upon the whole, were generally in pretty comfortable circumstances. It was very different with the hinds, bondsmen, or villagers, who were the absolute property of the lord of the soil, and were sold along with the land. This unhappy class, whose existence in Scotland can be traced to the reign of Malcolm Canmore, was composed chiefly of the original Celtic inhabitants of the country, partly of prisoners taken in war, and partly of those who, in times of famine and distress, had sold themselves into slavery to escape starvation.

The condition of these bondsmen must have been very wretched. They were bought and sold like cattle. They had no property of their own, and were entirely under the arbitrary control of their master or purchaser: they could not remove from the estate without his permission, and when oppression drove them, as it often did, to seek safety in flight, their master could "take them by the nose" and reclaim them to their former servitude. He could punish them at pleasure, and was responsible to no court or authority for his treatment of them.

The chartularies of the period abound with references to these serfs, and to the wretched condition in which they were placed. Men and women, with their families and property, are thus formally assigned along with lands as so much property of the superior, whether he were baron, abbot, or king. This state of slavery was abolished only by slow degrees, but we have evidence of its existence in the district, more especially among the mining population, till the end of last century.

At Pinkie coal works, which are perhaps the oldest in the country, slavery of a kind still existed till about 1780. And the same state of matters was to be found at the collieries and salt works of Easter Duddingston and Joppa till the year 1799.

The oldest salt pans at Magdalene Bridge were dependencies of Kelso Abbey. Joppa Salt Pans are of more recent origin, and date from the beginning of the seventeenth century. In a charter dated 9th July 1640, we find that David Preston of Craigmillar infefted his son, George Preston, and his wife, Jean Gibson, "in that piece of land and rock let to him by Sir Thomas Thomson of Duddingston for building a salt pan, with the house, etc., near the sea, and bounded within two great fixed rocks *(lapides marinos)* within the bounds of Easter Duddingston," sasine being given on the ground by presenting "schellis" of the said salt pans. We have reason to believe, however, that the pans were built by David Preston before 1635.*



JOPPA SALT PANS.

At the end of last century there were no less than six separate salt pans in the parish, including those still carried on at Joppa. The Magdalene Bridge works have ceased to exist for many years, and the two separate works of Joppa have been for long under one management. Formerly the salt was made entirely by evaporation of the sea-water, but salt rock is now imported from Cheshire for the purpose. An extensive trade has long been carried on with Edinburgh and Leith, and with the interior towns of the south of Scotland. At one time as many as forty carriers—all women—were employed retailing salt from the coast to Edinburgh and neighbouring district; about 18,000 bushels of salt being annually delivered in this way from the pans. At the end of last century, when the fiscal duties on the necessaries of life were so heavy, salt did not escape the vigilance of the Government. The tax was a heavy one, and such was the importance and value of the revenue from this source, that its collection was then under a separate department or commission. The officers of the salt duties were nearly as important as the officers of customs, and were divided into nine various districts throughout the country. In addition to the leading staff of commissioners, supervisors, controllers, collectors, clerks, etc., about thirty-five salt officers and forty-

* See Appendix.

seven watchmen were employed in this duty, so that altogether a staff of not less than 120 men was required to collect the tax on an indispensable commodity which is now sold free of duty. The Joppa Pans were included under the Prestonpans district—the River Tyne forming the eastern boundary and the Figgate Burn the western, the custom-house being at Prestonpans. At Joppa and Magdalene Pans the excessive duties led to a great deal of smuggling of salt into the north of England; for high as was the duty imposed in Scotland, it was much heavier across the Border, and the salt being consequently higher in price, there was a strong inducement to smuggle it into England in competition with English produce.

The hawking of salt at one time gave occupation to many poor people, mostly females. These went daily through the streets of Edinburgh and neighbourhood, and were nearly as numerous as the fishwives, trudging with heavy loads from Pinkie, or Prestonpans, or Joppa. The price of salt at the Pans, where they purchased a supply for the day, was, towards the end of last century, threepence halfpenny a peck—about seven pounds weight, which they retailed at sixpence a *caup*—a wooden measure one-fourth of a peck. In consequence of the repeal of the duty on salt, this trade has long since ceased, and the cry, so common of old in the streets, "Wha'll buy sa-at," or "Wha'll buy my lucky forpit o' sa-at," is a thing of the past.

Referring to his father's residence as manager of Joppa Pans in 1815, where, he says, "he suffered a species of ignominious banishment," William Chambers mentions that the business in itself violated all his father's notions of propriety. "It consisted," he says, "almost wholly in supplying material for a contraband trade across the Border to England; the high duties on salt in the latter country rendering this a profitable traffic. Purchased in large quantities at Joppa and other salt works, the bags were transferred in carts to Newcastleton in Liddesdale, where the article was stored by a dealer, and sold by him to be smuggled across the Fells during the night. For years this was a great trade. Perhaps it did not pertain to the Scotch salt makers to urge the extinction of so flourishing a traffic; but neither could any one of susceptible feelings look upon it with perfect complacency." A respectable community may easily be corrupted and their sense of legal right and wrong blunted by excessive fiscal

restrictions. In the history of the country this has repeatedly been exemplified. We find it was so in the west and south-west of Scotland—in Ayrshire and Kirkcudbrightshire—during the middle and latter end of last century, when smuggling was carried on to an enormous extent, and connived at both openly and secretly by the people; and we find it at the present day even in the Highlands, in the secret distillation of whisky, among otherwise respectable people. Excisemen and guagers in such circumstances are seldom popular. Even a Robert Burns, with all the personal attractions of his loving poetic nature, when engaged in this capacity, had difficulty at times in dispelling the fear which "the Exciseman's" visits created. Chambers mentions as an interesting reminiscence of his father's residence at Joppa, that among the few excise officers set to watch over the salt works, and give permits to purchasers, there was one of the name of Stobie who had done duty for the Poet during his last illness in 1796. Old Mr Chambers and Mr Stobie were on the most intimate and friendly terms, and young William Chambers records that it was to Stobie's honour that he generously acted gratuitously for Burns at this melancholy crisis; while he appears to have further delighted the young publisher with particulars of the Poet's life from his acquaintance of him in Dumfries.

William Chambers describes Joppa Pans as "a small odorous place, consisting of a group of sooty buildings situated on the sea shore." "But the Sundays spent on the shore of the Firth of Forth formed a refreshing change on the ordinary course of life." Toiling all the week in Edinburgh, he and his brother Robert were thankful to enjoy a pleasant and not uninstructive calm amidst the shell and tangle covered rocks of Joppa.

The degraded condition of the labouring population of the district, and especially of the salt workers and colliers of Joppa has already been referred to; but it is rather startling in this nineteenth century to have the evidence of slavery existing within four miles of the capital told us by an eye-witness of the fact. William Chambers' evidence is remarkable. "The small smoke-dried community of these Salt Pans," he says, "was socially interesting. Along with the colliers in the neighbouring tiled hamlets, the salt makers—at least the elderly among them—had at one time been serfs, and in that condition they had been legally sold along with the property on which they dwelt. I conversed

with some of them on the subject. They and their children had been heritable fixtures to the spot. They could neither leave at will, nor change their profession. In short, they were in a sense slaves. I feel it to be curious," he continues, "that I should have seen and spoken to persons in this country who remembered being legally in a state of serfdom ; and such they were till 1799, when an Act of Parliament abolished this last remnant of slavery in the British Islands."

That the delivery of the Joppa salters from such a miserable condition, was one which they understood and appreciated, we are told that for at least twenty-five years afterwards they observed one day every year as a holiday or festival to commemorate the event. At the end of last century, from 1788 till 1808, the salt works belonging to the Earl of Abercorn in the parish were leased by Mr John Thomson of Priorlatham at a rental of £90 per annum. This gentleman, in addition to being an extensive merchant in Leith, farmed Duddingston Mains and the parks over which have since been built the greater part of Portobello.

The Joppa Salt Pans are still carried on with continued success. Under the management of Messrs Alex. Nisbet & Son, who entered in occupation of the works after the late Mr John Grieve some thirty years ago, the works were enlarged and improved. They were in 1889 bought over by the Scottish Salt Company, by whom they have since been wrought along with the salt pans of Pinkie, Prestonpans, and Charleston.

The uncertainty as to when salt first began to be made in the Parish of Duddingston equally applies to the use of coal, either for domestic or manufacturing purposes. The large consumpt of fuel needful in the process of salt-making made it necessary that in olden times the supply should be within easy reach. Formerly the supply of wood was sufficient for this and other purposes, but in time it began to fail, and as early as the thirteenth century the depletion began to be felt. Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, states that "as iron works in modern times waste the woods, so in those early ages the salt works thinned the forests." We find, accordingly, in many of the grants which the kings and barons made of salt works to the abbeys, they gave them also the right to supply themselves with fuel from the woods.

There seems to be evidence that the valuable properties of coal were not unknown to the Romans and the early Saxon invaders,

but no great use was made of it, and indeed it does not appear to have been in use as fuel till the thirteenth century.

In the *Leges Burgorum*, which were enacted about 1140, a particular privilege is granted to those who bring fuel into burghs. Wood, turf, and peats are expressly mentioned, but with respect to coal there is a dead silence. In the year 1234, Henry III. of England renewed a charter which his father had granted to the inhabitants of Newcastle, in which he gave them, on petition, liberty to dig coals upon payment of £100 a year. By the end of the thirteenth century, however, the use of coal had been greatly developed on both sides of the Forth. Mention is made in a charter of 1291 of a grant to Dunfermline Abbey of the right to dig for coal in the lands of Pittencrieff in Fife; and Chalmers quotes a charter of James, the son of Alexander III., of 1284 (shortly before his father's death at Kinghorn), in which a grant is made to William de Preston of the lands of Tranent, with various privileges—"*in moris, et maresiis, in petariis, et Carbonariis.*" "Whatever," he says, "this latter expression signified in prior times, it seems to have applied to pit collieries in that age." In a charter of the Abbey of Newbattle, previous to 1214, a grant is made to the monks by Seyer de Quinci of the coal pit and quarry *(carbonarium et quararium)* between Whiteside and Pinkie. This is the earliest mention of coal in Great Britain of which there is any authentic account. The fossil coal did not, however, become the common fuel of North Britain till more recent times.

Travellers who visited this country in the fifteenth century mention the use of coal as a substitute for wood. Thus, about 1450, Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., relates that he saw "the poor people, who in rags begged at the Churches, receive for alms pieces of stone, with which they went away contented." "This species of stone," says he, "whether with sulphur or whatever inflammable substance it may be impregnated, *they burn in place of wood*, of which their country is destitute." And Boetius, in his description of Scotland, written in the sixteenth century, says:—"There are black stones also digged out of the ground, which are very good for firing, and such is their intolerable heat, that they resolve and melt iron, and therefore are very profitable for smiths and such artificers as deal with other metals; neither are they found anywhere else

(that I know of) but between the Tay and the Tyne within the whole island."

The earliest reference we have to coals in Duddingston parish is in a charter of Kelso Abbey of 1466, where we find the right to dig coal pits granted along with the lands of Figgate to Cuthbert Knightson, Burgess of Edinburgh. There is no evidence of the existence of coal on this ground (being that on which Portobello is now built), or of any attempt being made to "dig for coal;" but the fact of the right being conceded, indicates that coal was supposed to exist in the neigbourhood. Along the seaboard of the Firth of Forth a considerable trade had sprung up, in which the article had come to be a leading export. Thus, in 1526, James V. empowered the monks of Newbattle, the discoverers of coal in the vicinity, to construct a port within their own lands of Prestongrange. They accordingly erected a harbour named Newhaven. This was afterwards changed to Aitchison's Haven, but it was at the end of last century entirely swept away, and not a vestige of it now remains. It was situated between Levenhall and the little harbour of Morrison's Haven.

The extent to which the trade with other countries was growing seems to have so alarmed the Government, lest the supply should become exhausted, that by an Act passed in 1563 the transporting of coals "furth of the realm" was prohibited, but afterwards commuted so far by an Act of the Privy Council that "smiddy coal" was allowed to be exported. In process of time these Acts came to be disregarded, until in 1609 a proposal was made by the Scottish Privy Council that the foreign coal trade should be legalised. King James VI. would listen to nothing of the kind. In a long letter, dated Whitehall, 28th April 1609, he fully relates the reasons for his refusal, viz., his fear "that as it is notorious that the coills both in that and this kingdome do daylie decay, so that thair is no houp of any suddane new grouth; and as by the use of these coills the wodis and growing tymmer throughout all the yland sall be spared and uncutt and undestroyit," and seeing "that coills are at this instant almost unbuyable for dearth," he considered it "a shameful thing that the pryvate gayne of some two or three individuals should be put in the ballance, not only with the weele of the whole kingdome, but even of this whole yle." *

**Privy Council Records.*

In all probability it was considerably before the reign of the Modern Solomon who indited this sapient epistle that the coal pits of Duddingston were opened near to Joppa, as we find a charter of Kelso Abbey, dated 1538, by which the lands of Easter and Wester Duddingston were granted to Robert Barton, where mention is made of his right to the coal and coal-heughs on the Barony.*

From a very early period at all events, down to the year 1790, coal had continued to be extracted, and that in considerable quantity from the three or four pits wrought in that neighbourhood. At the end of the century thirteen seams of coal had been discovered and partly wrought; several being of first-rate quality. "The inclinations and dips of the minerals were to the west, and nearly all at an angle of forty-five degrees from the horizon to the east, which always rendered the working of the coal an extremely difficult and dangerous process, and which in the end was the cause of the mines being given up, as they could not be kept clear of water." †

In 1788 the coal "on the west of the Great Seam" was leased by Mr John Thomson of Priorlatham for twenty-one years at a rent of £200 per annum for the coal, or a tenth of the gross produce at the option of the Earl of Abercorn, and £37 3s 6d for the colliers' houses; and he was to have got a lease of the rest of the coal at Brunstane as soon as it was put into a proper working condition. But the death of the Earl in 1789, and a dispute with his successor, prevented this being carried out. ‡

Hugh Miller, who knew well the geological configuration of the neighbourhood of these mines, has given an excellent description of their coal measures in his *Geological Features of Edinburgh and its Neighbourhood.* The pits had been closed long before his day, but from a careful examination of the strata laid bare in the quarry between Joppa and Easter Duddingston and other places further inland, he formulated his theory of the Midlothian coal basin. He says:—

"The coal measures fill a great basin, which occupies the comparatively level space between the western slopes of the Garelton Hills, near Haddington, and the eastern slopes of Arthur Seat and the Pentlands. The surface is comparatively level, because *the basin is full;*

* *Laing Charters.* † *New Statistical Account.*
‡ *Private Genealogy of the Thomsons of Priorlatham.*

but were these coal measures to be removed from it, that plain now laid out into the rich corn fields of Midlothian would exist as by far the profoundest valley in Scotland—a valley greatly more profound than Corrisk, or Glen Nevis, or Glencoe. Were Ben Lomond, with its three thousand two hundred feet of altitude, to be set down in the middle of this valley or basin, it would be so nearly submerged that its summit would scarce rise to the level of the Queen's Drive. We find this enormous basin, with about 170 beds of shale, clay, coal, sandstone, and ironstone, ranged layer above layer in long irregular curves, much broken by faults and shifts, but save for these breaks of greatly later date than their deposition, continuous over wide areas; and of these 170 beds rather more than thirty consist of workable seams of coal. . . . The number of unworkable seams, varying from a few inches to about a foot and a half in thickness, amount to at least as many more. In the comparatively small section of the carboniferous strata presented in the Joppa Quarry, we find no fewer than seven coal seams, four of them unworkable and three of them wrought out. By much the larger portion of the coal in this Midlothian field seems to have been elaborated *in situ*, where we now find it, and it has been estimated that this coalfield alone could not have been produced in less than six hundred thousand years."

The workings of the several pits at Joppa followed the various seams in all directions, even to a considerable distance below the bed of the sea; and though the shafts have been long since filled up, frequent subsidences of the soil in recent years amply confirm the extensive nature of the workings. The influx of water, whether from the sea or otherwise, seems to have been a continual source of annoyance and expense. About 1730, when the lands of Duddingston belonged to the family of Argyle, a machine, named "chains and basket," was employed to raise the water from a great depth. When in 1745 the property changed hands, and was purchased by the Earl of Abercorn, the coal mines were let to a Mr Biggar of Woolmet, a man of considerable enterprise, who opened a "level" from the sea in the form of a large drain, more than three miles in extent, which he carried through the estates of Duddingston, Niddry, and part of Edmonstone, as far as Woolmetbank. This extensive "level" proved of great advantage to the proprietors of the more elevated coal works, but in the end completely ruined the collieries of Duddingston by an overflow of water. About the year 1763, the Earl of Abercorn, in order to clear the mines of water, erected a powerful engine, where Mount Pleasant now stands, which extended its operations to a depth of fifty-two fathoms. This engine was rendered useless

and the pits were altogether destroyed on the 20th March 1790, the whole of the working seams being flooded and choked through this communication of the level with the higher grounds. About this time another engine of even greater power had been erected near the southern boundary of the parish to work the coal of Brunstane. The shaft of this engine-pit reached to a depth of sixty fathoms, and intersected three seams of coal; the first was seven feet thick, the second nine, and the last fifteen. The other substances through which it descended were deep strata of a coarse red sandstone, and nearest to the coal, a kind of pyrites schist, which the workmen called "bands of bleas." There is no doubt there is much unexhausted coal in the neighbourhood still, but the expense of working the pits and clearing them of water has proved an insuperable obstacle to their success. About the year 1842 another attempt was made to reopen them. The then Marquis of Abercorn leased them to an English lady named Miss Ellis, by whom a powerful engine was erected and the pit put in order for working at the cost of £13,000, but the works had after a short trial to be finally abandoned as unprofitable.

The engine-house, with its tall chimney stalk, stood on the sloping ground opposite the east end of Portobello Promenade on the south side of the Musselburgh Road, the last relics of the Duddingston coalpits. Falling into ruins, they were finally cleared away from the locality about the year 1852. The chimney stalk was blown up with gunpowder, and we remember being eye-witness to its fall, the explosion and final catastrophe being effected before a large assemblage of spectators. The site is now occupied by the elegant mansion of Mrs Neilson, appropriately named from the association of the place with the old coal works —"Coillesdene."

The precise locality of the neighbouring pits it is not so easy to determine. It is supposed there was one immediately to the south of Mount Pleasant, and another west of Brunstane Road, near to Argyle Crescent; while another was to the east of Joppa Pans, on the north side of the road. To the south of Easter Duddingston on the way to Brunstane House there appear to have been pits also. Joppa and Easter Duddingston, when these various pits were in operation, were largely occupied by the colliers; but when the works were stopped in 1790 and these had to find work elsewhere, both villages fell into decay. One

authority, writing in 1805, mentions that "in Joppa which was solely occupied by colliers, above thirty houses have been deserted or suffered to fall into ruins within the space of the last four years."* A corresponding depopulation took place in Easter Duddingston: about 300 colliers and bearers, it is said, being at the same time thrown out of employment.

What Joppa lost as a mining village was soon afterwards more than made up by its rise as a watering-place. The old miners houses were taken down or remodelled or improved. Instead of the thatch, they were roofed with tiles and in some cases, slate; and by the erection of Mount Pleasant a better class of residenters was introduced.

Easter Duddingston had no such alternative to offer. Deserted by the colliers, it fell back to its primitive condition as an agricultural village, with its smithy, its joiner's shop, its public-house, its little school, and its two or three old mansion houses. Until thirty-five years ago the smithy and joiner's shop stood in a large square on the north side of the road, which has been since entirely swept away; its site now forms part of the fine garden attached to the picturesque mansion of Duddingston Lodge, lately occupied by Mr Charles Jenner, but now transformed into a first-class Hydropathic establishment.

The village is now made up of only some ten or twelve cottages, with several larger residences, but it has neither public-house, smithy or joiner's shop, school or chapel. In its latter days it has settled down to a condition of respectable retirement, undisturbed by anything but a passing funeral to the adjoining cemetery, or the scream of a locomotive on its way to and from the capitals of England and Scotland. But there seems to be every probability that in a few years the ancient village of Easter Duddingston may be so surrounded with new streets and crescents, as to be altogether absorbed in the rapidly extending area of Portobello.

We have already referred to the condition of the salters in the neighbouring salt pans of Joppa in former times. The condition of the colliers was somewhat similar, and in every sense of the word as deplorable; and before we dismiss this part of our subject, we may briefly refer to it as happily a feature of the social life of the past, for ever gone.

* *Old Statistical Account.*

Hugh Miller, in one of his geological lectures, thus refers to the coal workers of Midlothian :—

"One of the most distinctive characters of the flat track which overlies the basin of the Midlothian coal measures—the feature that strikes the eye of the traveller who hurries along its line of railway as peculiarly its own —consists in its numerous coal works and in its lines of low-roofed huts, uniform in their humble mediocrity as those of slave villages. The dwellers in these low huts have a very singular history regarded as that of Scotchmen. It is not yet fully eighty years (says he, writing about the year 1855) since they were slaves, as firmly bound to the soil as the serfs of Russia, and transferable, like the huts in which they dwelt or the minerals amid which they burrowed, from the hands of one proprietor to another. . . . Profoundly ignorant—kept apart, by their underground profession and their peculiar habits, from the other people of the country—and withal not very formidable from their numbers, their liberty seems to have been taken from them piecemeal, mainly during the seventeenth century, by the Acts of Parliaments, in which, of course, they were wholly unrepresented, and by the decisions of a Court in which no one ever appeared for their interests. It was the old Scottish Parliament and our present Court of Session that made the colliers slaves ; and the *salters* or salt makers of the north-eastern shores of Midlothian were associated with them in bondage."

There seems to be no doubt whatever that this was so, and it arose from the immense territorial power of the coal proprietors, who were virtually the authors of the Acts and the prompters of the decisions, and in proof of this we quote a few passages from these iniquitous laws bearing out our statement. In the year 1606, it was statute and ordained, under a penalty of £100, that no person within the realm should hire or employ colliers, coal bearers, or salters, unless furnished with a sufficient testimonial from the master whom he had last served ; and further, "that sae mony colliers, coal bearers, and salters," as without such testimonial received such "forewages and fees, should be esteemed, repute, and holden as *thieves*, and *punished* in *their bodies*." "Pretty well," says honest Hugh, "as a specimen of the class legislation of the good old times!" This Act, however, stringent as it may seem, was found insufficient ; there was a class of persons employed in the pits whom it did not include ; and so in 1661, it was further enacted, "that because watermen, who lave and draw water in the coal-heugh-heads, and gatesmen who work the ways and passages in the said heughs, *are as neces-*

sary to the owners and masters of the said coal heughs as the coal hewers and coal bearers, it is therefore statute and ordained, that they should come under exactly the same penalties as the others, in the event of quitting their masters without certificate; and that it should be equally illegal, in the lack of such a document, for any person to employ them?"

But even that was not considered sufficient. The poor coal worker, discontented and miserable, grumbled at his lot, and wanted wages; but such an unreasonable demand, while it was nominally complied with, was practically denied, for it was further enacted that it should "not be lawful for any coal master in the kingdom to give any greater fee than the sum of twenty merks in fee or bountith"—a clause which, according to the interpretation of Lord Kames, fixed the large sum of one pound two shillings sterling as the YEARLY wages of colliers and salters! It was found, however, that at times the poor men became uncontrollable, and refused to work on any terms, and so there was a further clause devised to deal with the difficulty, which ran as follows:—"Because coal hewers within the kingdom, and other workers within coal heughs, with salters, do ly from their works at Pasche, Yule, Whitsunday, and certain other times of the year, which times they employ in drinking and debauching to the *great offence of God and prejudice of their masters*, it is therefore statute and ordained that the said coal hewers and salters, and other workmen in coal heughs in the kingdom, work all the six days of the week, except the time of Christmas."

Thus were these poor people—men and women—treated. The Habeas Corpus Act, introduced into Scotland in 1701, expressly declared in one of its clauses, that its provisions were *not* to be extended to workers in coal or makers of salt; and for a hundred and fourteen years, men and women, born in Liberton, Inveresk, and Duddingston, within four miles of the Scottish capital, were held as strictly in thrall by their masters as the negroes of Cuba or Carolina. Says Hugh Miller, burning with indignation:—

"The letters of Junius had appeared, rousing the English people to resist even the slightest encroachment on their liberties; the war of Independence in the American Colonies had begun; Robert Burns was cherishing, as a peasant lad in Ayrshire, those sentiments of a generous freedom which breathe from every stanza of his noble and manly verse; nay, Granville Sharp had obtained his Act through which slavery, if that

of the negro or the foreigner, could not come into contact with the soil of Britain without ceasing to be slavery; and yet the poor Scotch collier, buried in that very soil, and bearing about with him its stains, still remained a slave. Not until the year 1775 did the law, which had so insidiously bound him, set him even nominally free; and certainly very strange, regarded as a British law of the latter half of the eighteenth century, is the preamble of that Act which extended to him in the first instance a verbal freedom. 'Whereas,' it runs, 'by the statute law of Scotland, as explained by the Judges of the Courts of Law there, many colliers, coal bearers, and salters, are in a state of slavery and bondage, bound to the collieries and salt works, *where they work for life, transferable with the collieries and salt works.*'"

This emancipatory Act failed in its object in consequence of certain conditions attached to it, which the poor workers underground were too improvident and too incapable of implementing; and their actual emancipation did not take place until the year 1799, when it was effected by a second Act, which bluntly enough in its preamble stated, that notwithstanding the former enactment, "many colliers and coal bearers still continued in a state of bondage in Scotland." The galling nature of this bondage, and the inadequate pay they received, must have frequently evoked disturbances between master and servants. From the *Edinburgh Courant* of 22nd June 1782, we learn, that "on Wednesday last a number of Lord Abercorn's *bound* colliers of Duddingston gave up working, and insisted for an increase of wages. Upon the Sheriff's warrant they were seized by a party of dragoons, and five of the ringleaders brought to town, two of whom were sent on board the tender in Leith Road, and the others dismissed on a promise of good behaviour."

Hugh Miller further gives a graphic sketch from his own experience. When a mason lad he wrought at the building of Niddrie House about the year 1825. In the pursuit of his geological studies he had frequent opportunities of judging of the condition of the colliers in the neighbourhood, whose hard lot touched his heart with pity. He says:—

"When residing in a village in the neighbouring coalfield, nearly thirty years ago, I had many opportunities of conversing with Scotchmen, the colliers of a neighbouring hamlet, who had been born slaves; and at that time I found the class still strongly marked by the slave nature. Though legally only transferable in the earlier time, with the works and minerals to which they were attached, cases occasionally occurred in which they

were actually transferred by sale from one part of the country to another. During the lapse of the present century, the son of an extensive coal proprietor was engaged in examining, with a friend, the pits of a proprietor in another part of the field; and finding a collier, the tones of whose speech resembled those of the colliers of his own district he enquired whether he had not originally belonged to it? 'Oh,' exclaimed the man, with apparent surprise, 'd'ye no ken me? Do ye no mind that your faither sold me for a pouny?'"

That ignorance and vice were the characteristics of such a condition of society goes without saying. It was inevitable, more especially when we remember that the women were veritably yoke fellows with their husbands and brothers in this degrading service. Here is the evidence of an eye-witness to their work, which was to carry up to the surface in baskets or creels the coal hewn from the same, from which they were called "coal bearers." "Each bears a lamp fastened to her head to light the long upward ascent, and, laden with more than a hundredweight of coal, and bent forward at nearly a right angle to avoid coming in contact with the low roof, they ascend slowly along the flights of steps, and through the narrow galleries, and lastly up the long stair of the shaft; and when they have reached the surface, they unload at the coal heap and return. And such is the employment of females for twelve, and sometimes fifteen hours together." It has been estimated by Mr Robert Bald, the distinguished mining engineer, that one of their ordinary day's work was equal to the carrying of a hundredweight from the level of the sea to the top of Ben Lomond. These poor collier women—the coal bearers of the old Scotch Acts—were even more strongly marked by the slave nature in this part of the country than the men. Hugh Miller says:—

"I have seen them crying like children when toiling, nearly exhausted under the load, along the steep upper stages of their journeys to the surface, and then returning with empty creels, scarce a minute after, singing with glee. They were marked, too, by a peculiar type of mouth; both the upper and under lip drooped forward, swollen, meaningless, void of all marks indicative of compressive control of mind. It was the mouth of the savage in that humblest and least developed condition of which great weakness is an even more deplorable trait than the prevailing rudeness and barbarism. I describe, however, a state of things which has already become obsolete in the district. Women are no longer employed as animals of burden in our Scottish coal pits. The drooping, degraded type

of mouth seems already to have disappeared from among our collier population. My description, were it to survive, might be well regarded as one of the fossils of the coal measures—a memorial of a condition of things become extinct—and such is the character borne by even the comparatively recent history of our Scottish colliers in general. It bears upon its front the stamp of obsolete ages, and of states of society long gone by."

The following verse of a song, called "The Coal-Bearer's Lamentation," is said to have been often sung by these poor women of Duddingston and neighbouring parishes when at their toilsome work :—

When I was engaged a coal bearer to be,
When I was engaged a coal bearer to be,
Through all the coal pits
I maun wear the dron brats.
If my heart it should break,
I can never won free !

Let us be thankful that not only in our parish, but throughout the British Empire so deplorable a condition of society has for ever ceased to be tolerated.

Besides colliers and salters, there were in former times in the parish of Duddingston other industries dependent upon the natural products of the earth, without the notice of which our narrative would not be complete. We refer particularly to the freestone quarries of Joppa, and the fire-clay brick work.

Perhaps the earliest quarrying for stone required for the houses at Joppa, was made at either side of the "Pans," where the stratum of freestone cropped out and was exposed to view. Little labour was required to detach the blocks from the cliff, which must then have presented a bold front to the sea. On the west side of the "Pans," where not covered up by the sloping bulwark, may still be seen a portion of the freestone bed. It has long ceased to be wrought. A few hundred yards further west and opposite the houses of Joppa, on the property of Major Adair (a somewhat eccentric character in his day), a second quarry was opened towards the latter part of last century ; and a third, and by far the largest and most important, was started on the south side of the village and close to Easter Duddingston, on the ground of the Marquis of Abercorn. The quality of the sandstone beds there laid open was very varied, some layers being fine grained and compact, others friable and composed of large loosely-

cemented quartzose particles, while small strata of limestone and ironstone frequently occurred, intermixed with several coal seams. A large portion of the town of Portobello in the early years of its history was built from this latter quarry. The stone is not considered good for house building, there being too much inequality in the grain, and the presence of iron ore too frequently discolouring the buildings erected by it.

In both quarries, however, there existed fine seams of fire-clay from six to fourteen feet thick. Close to the second or seaside quarry there was established in the latter part of last century a large fire-clay work chiefly for the making of bricks, which was carried on with success till about fifty years ago, first by Mr John Smith, Baron Bailie of Duddingston, and latterly by Mr Allan Livingston.

The brickwork, which was capable of turning out about 18,000 bricks per week, stood close to the sea beach in what was latterly called Joppa Park; but the whole area is now entirely covered with dwellings. Here there was a considerable range of offices, sheds, kilns, and workmen's houses, which were protected on the seaward side by a high stone wall which stood a few feet outside the present Promenade. About fifty years ago the works being disused fell into ruins, and ultimately the sea wall was swept away by the sea. Occasionally, however, its foundations may yet be seen after some high tide has lowered the level of the sand.

The Joppa Quarry, to the south of Joppa Station, was opened about the year 1780 by Mr Alexander Robertson. He was succeeded by his son of the same name, who long resided in Joppa, and who by his industry acquired a large fortune, principally in the corn trade. Mr Robertson continued to excavate both stone and fire-clay till about the year 1817, when he became involved in a dispute with the Marquis of Abercorn, which was carried into Court, and decided in his favour. On the expiry of his lease, however, the quarry was taken from him and let to Mr Livingston.

Mr Livingston having exhausted the clay in his lower Joppa Quarry some years previous, found the large quarry a great acquisition, as he could now carry on the brick making without being dependent on others for his clay. The quarry and brickwork were carried on by him till 1845, when he became tenant of the Abercorn Brick Works in Portobello. Being thereafter aban-

doned, the Joppa Brick Work fell into ruins, and as we have indicated, has left no visible trace behind.

The larger or Easter Duddingston quarry continued to be used by Mr Livingston till his death in 1858, and by his son, Mr Allan Livingston, some years thereafter ; but for more than a quarter of a century it has ceased to be wrought.

The fire-clay was dug out by running long parallel galleries underground following the stratum, and here, as in the adjoining coal pits, the drudgery work of carrying the fire-clay was often done by women, who toiled along the low-roofed galleries to the open level with their boxes on their backs called "hutches," fastened with a leather strap across their foreheads like a fishwife's creel ; each load weighing nearly a hundredweight. Toilsome, unhealthy work it must have been, degrading to the last degree as employment for women. But we have people living amongst us still who remember seeing them engaged at it.

During the latter years of his life, when residing in Portobello. Hugh Miller found the quarry of Joppa a favourite hunting-ground. Here in its inner recesses, he discovered many interesting geological specimens, which furnished him with illustrations and confirmations of those wonderful theories of his which so charmed and instructed the scientific world of forty or fifty years ago.

CHAPTER III.

THE LANDS AND THEIR OWNERS.

MATERIALS for framing a close consecutive history of the ancient owners of the soil previous to the sixteenth century are of the scantiest kind. The old civil records of Scotland suffered severely by the various invasions of the English, and particularly in the terrible invasion of 1544, when Edinburgh with the Palace and Monastery of Holyrood, and the whole surrounding district were laid in ashes by the Earl of Hertford. The zeal and perseverance with which that work of destruction was carried on, leave but little reason to wonder at the loss of those public muniments which were not protected by the fortifications of the Castle. It is largely to private papers and monastic chartularies we owe any record of the transfer of land prior to this period.

The fluctuating and uncertain tenure of property, the result of the instability of Scottish affairs for three centuries preceding the union of the crowns, was undoubtedly unfavourable to the continued descent of heritable possessions, or the preservation of documentary evidence. On the Borders especially, wars, feuds, and forfeitures followed each other so fast, that few families proved sufficiently vigorous to take root and establish their influence.

With the advent of more settled government, and the practical union of the Crowns of England and Scotland in the person of James VI., came a better order of things. Some attempt was made at registration and to the preservation of titles to property, and though these old deeds are generally in Latin, and sometimes involved and obscure, still they are of the utmost value in tracing parochial history and family pedigrees. The lands of Duddingston parish may, generally speaking, be embraced under the two or three principal estates of Easter and Wester Duddingston and Prestonfield. We shall have occasion, however, in the course of our narrative, to refer to the neighbouring estates of Brunstane and Niddrie, and to several smaller properties.

Reference has already been made to the feudal superiority held by the Abbot of Kelso over the greater part of the parish. This continued for the long period of four hundred years—from the twelfth to the sixteenth century—when the superiority once more reverted to the Crown on the breaking up of the Abbey at the Reformation. During that period the Baronies of Easter and Wester Duddingston were held as separate and distinct properties.

To the charters granted by the Abbots at various times we are indebted for much of the family history that follows, and some of these, from the collection of original manuscripts made by the late Dr David Laing, now in the University Library, have not hitherto been published.*

The estate of Easter Duddingston, as we have seen, had been held through several generations in the family of the Dodins of Dodinestoun until about the years 1208-18. In the reign of William the Lion it had fallen into the hands of the De Boschos—a powerful family at that period. Reginald de Boscho had a grant made to him by Henry, Abbot of Kelso, which was confirmed by his successor Abbot Herbert (1221-36) to Reginald's son, Thomas de Boscho, "The said Thomas and his heirs to hold the land in its parts and pastures, its mills and waters, and other liberties pertaining by right to the said lands of Easter Duddingston which Richard the son of Hugh had renounced, with half the peterie of Camerun," in heritable feu, on payment of 10 merks of silver, "and doing the forensic service due to our Lord the King, and to us for the third of the town." The "peterie" referred to was the peat moss, moor, or common, situated to the south of Prestonfield, near to Cameron Toll, now the green meadows through which the Suburban Railway passes, west of Duddingston Station.

Abbot Hugh, about fifteen years afterwards (1240-48) granted to Emma, the widow of this Thomas de Boscho, the custody of her son and heir, till he should arrive at lawful age, for which she paid twenty pounds of silver.†

The De Boschos held prominent posts in the Church and in the State at this time; one of them, Sir William de Boscho, being Lord Chancellor of the Kingdom to Alexander II.; while in the

* These are now, under the Editorship of Rev. J. Anderson, being published by the University.

† *Charter of Kelso, Bannatyne Club, 445.*

Church he was first, Archdeacon of Lothian, and afterwards Bishop of Glasgow.*

In the troublous times that followed the death of Alexander III., Easter Duddingston seems to have changed hands, for in May 1290 we find Edward I. of England granting protection against proceedings for debt to "William de Dodingstone, burgess of Edinburgh;" and again in 1296, when the same monarch invaded Scotland to quell the "rebellion" of his vassal, John Baliol, among others who acknowledged his supremacy and swore allegiance, we have the name of "Eleyne de Duddyngston in the County of Edinburgh."

Whether this lady was a De Boscho, or represented the older family of the Dodins of that ilk it is impossible to determine.

After this, and for a period of one hundred and forty-five years, an impenetrable veil hides from us any knowledge as to the owners of the soil of Easter Duddingston, for no old parchments appear to have survived to let in a kindly ray of light.

The lands of Wester Duddingston were in all likelihood in early times an appanage of the Crown. As in the case of Easter Duddingston, the superiority was gifted to the Abbey of Kelso, founded by the liberality of David I. in 1128.

The gift included the Church with the Church lands; and the interests of the Abbots in keeping periodical courts, exacting the service, and their receiving the annual feu-duty from tenants or vassals "in the chancel of their chapel in Duddingston," were guarded by a local representative as their Baron Bailie. Thus in the time of Abbot Patrick (1258-75) we find that "Sir Simon de Preston, Knight, was made and constituted by the Abbot and his Chapter, the true and lawful Bailie of all the abbey lands lying within the barony of Duddingston."

There were several small proprietors of "the lands and the town of Wester Duddingston," of whom little but the names is known.

In 1311 Geoffry de Fressinglaye was proprietor of the barony or manor of Wester Duddingston. Having taken side with Robert the Bruce in the war with England, and the English King having established his authority over the greater part of the south of Scotland for a time, Fressinglaye, like many of the Scottish nobility, had his estates taken from him. An Act of Forfeiture was

* *Keith's Bishops.*

passed by Edward II., dated York, 3rd February 1311, by which he declared "that Geoffry de Fressinglaye has been an enemy for four years, that he held half the town (ville) of Wester Duddingston, worth in time of peace 100 shillings, and now five merks, except the yearly farm due to the Abbot of Kelso," and alienated it from him and his heirs for ever.*

This he conferred with other lands upon one of his own favourites named "Robert Hastang," or Hastings, who had distinguished himself in the war. In all probability this was the Norman knight, Hastings, who bore the Scottish title of Earl of Athol.

He did not, however, hold the Duddingston property for any length of time. The expulsion of the English after the defeat at Bannockburn in 1314, and the re-establishment of Scottish independence, brought about the restoration of the forfeited estates to their rightful owners. Once more the family of the Fressinglayes were reinstated in their property.

On the death of King Robert the Bruce in 1329, the country again suffered from the inroads of the English. The fatal defeat at Halidon Hill for a time undid the victory at Bannockburn, and Edward III. made Scotland a province of England, with Edward Baliol as his vassal.

Geoffry de Fressinglaye, who in the interval had died, or more probably was killed in his country's service, was succeeded in his estates by Sir William de Fressinglaye (or "Freschelai"). To him a charter of half the lands of the town of Wester Duddingston was granted by Abbot William of Kelso (1329-36), "according to its proper marches with all its pertinents in mills and waters," &c., "in fee and heritage for ever," "saving the right of the Rector of the Church and Vicarage," &c.

If the annual money payment was not heavy—being only twelve merks of silver annually—this vassal of the Abbey was bound "to give such homage and service to the Abbot as might be required."

How long Sir William retained possession we cannot say, but once more we find the family deprived of their rights through English usurpation. In the *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland* his name—only slightly altered in the spelling to "Freshellay"—appears in the list of Scottish nobles whose estates were confiscated at the instance of the English King in 1336, as "an enemy of the King." From this entry it appears the estate of

* *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*—Bain, Vol. III., p. 50.

Duddingston remained in the King's hand, but "owing to the disturbed state of the country, he was unable to levy the usual feu of twenty-two marks on the town of Duddingston."

We are not informed to whom the lands of Easter and Wester Duddingston were afterwards granted, or by whom they were held, until the time of James V. The chartularies are silent on the subject.

There is, however, an interesting instance of the strict feudal tenure under which they were held by the superior in a charter of the year 1420 granted by "the Abbot of Kelso, with the common consent of his chapter." The document is imperfect as regards names, etc., but it is to the effect that the proprietors, "John, son of and Alice, his spouse, not having children," had made a request "that the lands might pass over to the nearest heirs of the said Alice." . . . But the Abbot declined to grant this, and decreed that "they make no perpetual alienation of the said lands of Wester Duddingston, nor assign them to anyone without the assent and freewill of the Abbey." During the early part of the sixteenth century, the two formerly separate properties of Easter and Wester Duddingston were combined, and afterwards formed one Barony.

In connection with this, the family of the Bartons are the first to claim attention, followed by that of the Thomsons. In the seventeenth century the great families of Lauderdale, Dysart, Argyle, and Hamilton are conspicuous factors in our history; while the following century brings us into contact with the no less distinguished names of Fletcher, Abercorn, Dick, and Dick-Cunningham.

A number of names of minor importance are to be found as owners of land in the parish which cannot be overlooked in such a notice as this, such as that of Murray, Ker, Lawson, Crichton, etc. These smaller lairds we will dispose of at once and very briefly, but the story of the families of the Barony and of Prestonfield we shall endeavour to unfold in some detail.

The Murrays of Cambrown or Cameron—sometimes styled as "of Balvaird" and sometimes of "Arngask"—held a portion of the land in the neighbourhood of Duddingston Loch, at the southern base of Arthur Seat. The earliest mention we have of this family occurs in the Lord Treasurer's accounts, where we find that James V., having laid out the extensive park of Holyrood,

including Arthur Seat and Salisbury Crags, the treasurer paid on 24th January 1541 "to Schir David Murray of Balwaird, Knight, in recompense of his lands of Duddingstone tane into the new park beside Halyrude Hous, iiij^{c} li" (£400). Sir David died before 1552, as in February of that year there was granted by the Abbot of Kelso, a "Precept of Clare Constat" in favour of Andrew Murray as his heir in "the half lands and town of Wester Duddingston."

The estates of Murray about twenty or thirty years after this appear to have been heavily burdened with debt, if we may judge from the number of infeftments and other legal documents granted by Sir Andrew Murray. The following are several specimens:—

In 1578 there is a discharge in the form of a notarial instrument narrating that Robert Ker, one of the Bailies of Edinburgh, in consideration of the sum of £200 Scots, "paid in half-merk pieces, plakis, and balbeis," by Andrew Murray of Arngask, discharges the latter of an annual rent of £20 Scots, secured on the said lands of Wester Duddingston.

In 1585, Andrew Murray of Balvaird, Knight, granted to John Fenton, Clerk of the Rolls, "in feu, ferm, and heritage that parcel of land called Orchard in the territory of Duddingston, to the south of Duddingston Loch," which was to be held for 20s Scots yearly.

In 1587 and 1588, Murray is found granting similar legal documents over the same lands.*

It is not very clear whether his property included Peffermill or not. Sir Andrew died before 1589, and we have no further trace of the family in the locality till 1690, when one Thomas Murray had a retour of the lands of "Peffermill and Kingsmeadow, *alias* Sharniehall, within the parish of Liberton," in succession to his father, Anthony Murray. The property does not appear to have been large, and probably included a portion of Peffermill lands and Prestonfield.

The family of the Kers figure in the parish history as owners of the kirk lands of Duddingston for a long period from the time of the Reformation, when two-thirds of the Church property was alienated for secular purposes by the Crown. In the sixteenth century, the Kers and the Lawsons were related to each other by marriage, as we learn from a mutilated document in the charter

* See Appendix—*Laing Charters.*

chest of Niddrie House, by which a tack of the lands of Cummer is given by the Abbot of . . . [probably Kelso] "to Janet Ker and James Lawson, her son, relict of the late Richard Lawson in Humbie." This lady afterwards became the second wife of Gilbert Wauchope of Niddrie Merschell, a distinguished Scotsman, who took an active part in promoting the Reformation, and who frequently filled the office of Deputy Marshal in Parliament from 1527 to 1535. Janet Ker was married to him before 1515, for in July of that year there is a discharge from the Abbot of Kelso to "Janet Ker, Lady of Niddrie," of payment of the "malis and fermes" of the Kirk lands of Humbie, and the two parts of the Kirk of Duddingston; while another discharge of date 30th March 1518 exists, by Thomas, Abbot of Kelso, "to Janet Ker, spouse of Gilbert Wauchope of Niddrie Merschell." In all likelihood she had the life-rent of the lands, which on her death appears to have reverted to her father's family, for in 1599 we find the Kers were still in possession of the "whole church lands of the Vicarage Church and Parish of Duddingstone." Andrew Ker of Lintoun and William Ker, his son and heir, in that year conveyed them to John Ker, Burgess of Edinburgh, and Elizabeth Weir, his wife. And again in 1603 there is an instrument of sasine granting this same John Ker, "the whole kirk lands of the Vicarage." *

We have a curious glimpse into the domestic relationship of the Ker family with their neighbours, from a minute of the Privy Council of 1608, which discloses the lawlessness of the times, and the methods of punishment then exercised. The case before the Council arose from a complaint lodged by William Wauchope of Wester Duddingston as follows :—

"On Sunday the penult day of February last, while he was returning to his home from the forenoon service in his own parish Kirk of Duddingston, James Ker, elder in Duddingston, fiercely assaulted him with a drawn whinger, and would have slain him if he had not been relieved by the good people then present. As complainer for eschewing further trouble was repairing home by another way, Archibald Ker, brother of the said James, and John Ker, son of the said James, armed with swords, gauntlets, and plate-sleeves, followed him and having overtaken him, wounded him in the arm and lisk." They have thus "not only heichlie dishonourit the Lord's hailie Sabboth," but violated the Act made by His Majesty before his departure for England, and renewed since by the Privy Council

* *Laing Charters and Register Great Seal.*

forbidding any one to attack another in Edinburgh or within a mile of the residence of the Council, under pain of warding for a year and a day. James Ker, was ordered to be imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and Archibald, having apparently fled, "was denounced as a rebel." At a subsequent meeting the case was again before the Council on a statement that having made his submission as ordered, Archibald Ker had appeared on the 21st April 1608 in St Giles Church in Edinburgh, and had there "in all humilitie acknowledgit his offence to God, and to William Wauchope and his friends, and to have cravit pardoun of them for the hurting and wounding of the said William."

The Council imposed a fine of £70 11s, which he paid. The feud between the families was nevertheless continued, for in 1609 several of the Wauchopes having assaulted Robert Ker in Duddingston, and leaving him for dead, were committed to ward in the Tolbooth, notwithstanding it had "this lang time bygane been visit with the plague of pestilence."

John Ker died before 1667, as in a charter of that date "the lands of the Vicarage of Duddingston" are described as having "formerly belonged to the widow of the late John Ker." He was succeeded by "John Ker of West Nisbet;" and he again was followed by his son, "John Ker of Cavers," as we find in a Retour of 5th July 1684, where a description of the kirk land is pretty fully given. These consist of fifteen rigs of land near the town of Duddingston, eleven rigs of land in Longlands of Wester Duddingston, six rigs of land *(in lie clayes)*, and one and a half acres between the crofts of the said town *("noncupatas carnbucks")*, extending in all to fourteen acres *("peciis terrarum noncupatis lie ortchart in dicta territorio")*. The feu-duty to the Crown as superior is set down at fourteen merks.*

The Kers were otherwise connected with Duddingston through several generations. As Baron Bailies, we find the names of James and his son Robert appearing towards the end of the century in various documents. A Janet Ker (presumably a sister of the latter), married William Duncan, who was also Baron Bailie for a number of years down to 1708, when he was succeeded in the same office by his son, Archibald Duncan. Their monument may still be seen in the churchyard of Duddingston, testifying to their worth, as is afterwards mentioned.

Reference has already been made to the Lawsons of Duddingston. This name appears frequently in the Parish Record and

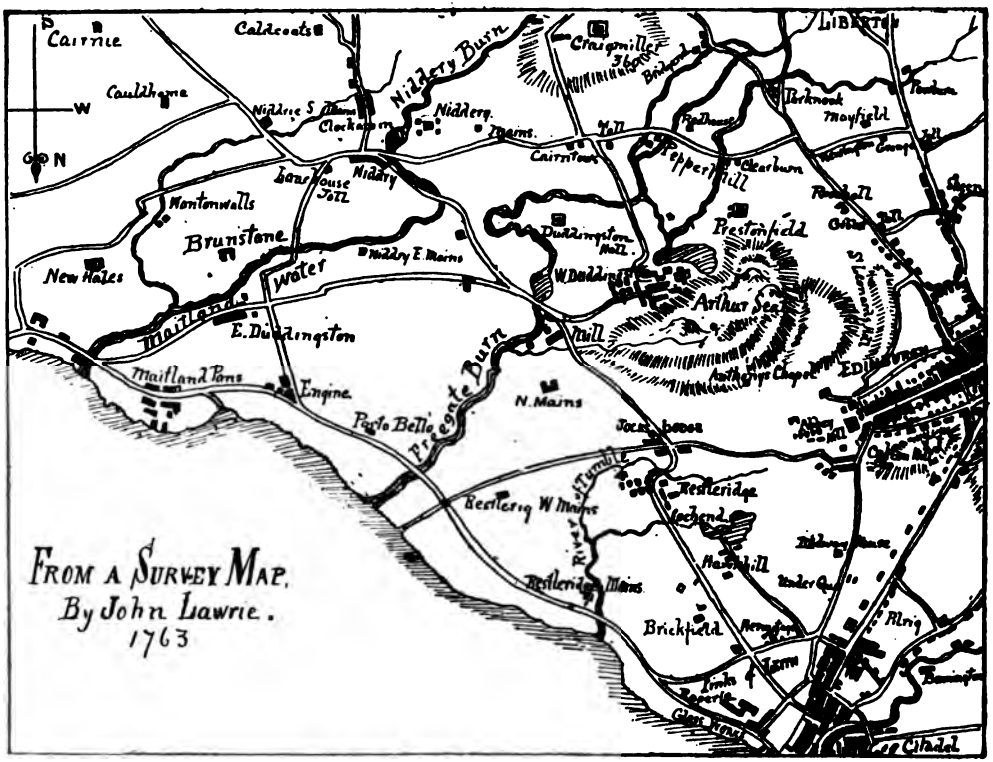
* *Abbreviated Retours*, Vol. I., No. 1291.

in the Retours. In 1577, one James Lawson held the lands of Overborderstains in the Barony of Soltray, from the Hospital. He resided in Easter Duddingston, and his descendants for many years afterwards lived in the locality. One of these, John Lawson of Humbie, in 1630, was served heir to this James Lawson, his grandfather, "in certain lands of Wester Duddingston," and "the lands of Figgate," near to the sea. This John Lawson was involved in a law suit with Sir James Hamilton, proprietor of Prestonfield, in 1631, when the estate was by Act of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, confirmed by Act of the Scottish Parliament, incorporated with the Parish of Duddingston. That Act necessitated the erection of what is called the Prestonfield Aisle, and the removal of Lawson's "desk" or pew on the north side of the Church. This he opposed, but without success, for the Presbytery decided in favour of Hamilton. The "desk" was removed and the aisle built.

Besides these, other minor proprietors might be named as holding lands in the parish of old, such as Wauchope, Walker, Matheson, Wilson, Suttie, and Logan. We must leave these, however, for a time to take up the story of the leading proprietors of the barony.

The following, from an old manuscript valuation of the Three Lothians in the year 1616, gives us the rentals of various properties in the parish of Duddingston in that year :—

Sir Thomas Thomson - - - - - -	£2657	5	0
Priestfield - - - - - - - -	644	8	4
George Logan - - - - - - -	372	0	0
Ker's Land [Church Lands]- - - -	140	0	0
James Lawson [Lands of Figgate] - -	20	10	0
Mr Charles Lumsden [Minister] - - -	101	0	0
John Young's Heirs - - - - -	23	13	4
	£3958	16	8



DUDDINGSTON PARISH AND NEIGHBOURHOOD AS IN 1763.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FAMILIES OF BARTON AND THOMSON.

THE oldest family owning the lands of the Barony of Easter and Wester Duddingston of whom we have any authentic information were the Bartons of seafaring fame, and though they only enjoyed possession for about thirty-three years, their story is a somewhat romantic one, and is bound up so closely with the history of our early Scottish marine enterprise as to be worthy of more than a passing reference.

The connection of the Bartons with Duddingston dates from 1538. The name is variously spelt, as Bertoun, Bertane, Barton, Barnton, and Berntoun, and it is supposed they are descendants of William de Lamberton, who in 1284 owned the lands of West Crags of Gorgie.

During the reigns of James III., James IV., and James V. the Bartons were distinguished for their enterprise as merchants, skill as seamen, and bravery as naval commanders. On several occasions they were honoured in maintaining the glory of the Scottish flag, and protecting the commerce of the country against the Hollanders and Portuguese. These were then the great maritime nations of Europe, and as they wished to keep the carrying trade in their own hands, they lost no opportunity of provoking quarrels and capturing both English and Scotch vessels. So far back as 1476 a merchant vessel, the "Yellow Caraval," commanded by John Barton, or Bertoun, was attacked and taken by a Portuguese squadron, and letters of reprisal were granted by James III. to Andrew, Robert, and John Barton, his sons, by which they were authorised to seize all vessels belonging to Portugal, till they had indemnified themselves for their loss, estimated at 12,000 ducats.

The grudge against the Portuguese was apparently kept up for many years, till at length the latter retaliated by seizing "the Lion" at Campvere, in Zealand, and throwing Robert Barton, its

commander, into prison. After a time he and his ship were released, but indignant at the insult to their flag, the Bartons in turn fitted out a squadron, which at various times captured several rich Portuguese merchantmen on their homeward voyage from India and Africa.

Mention is made by Dunbar, the Scottish poet, of a "Black Lady" at the court of James IV. who is said to have been captured in one of these prizes. She was doubtless one of the African girls taken by the Bartons. Elen More, or Black Helen, figures as a leading personage in a great tournament in 1507, which Dunbar satirises with some humour—

> Lang have I made of ladies white,
> Now of ane black I will indite,
> That landed furth of the last ships.
> When she is clad in rich apparel
> She blinks as bright as ane tar barrel;
> When she was born, the sun thole't 'clipse,
> The nicht he fain fought in her quarrel,
> My lady with the meikle lips!

The Bartons showed equal readiness in vindicating the honour of their country as in avenging their own private wrongs. The Hollanders, who at the time were subject to Austria, had attacked some Scottish merchantmen, and not content with plundering the cargoes, had murdered the crews, and thrown their bodies into the sea.

James IV. immediately despatched Andrew Barton with a large ship of war to inflict summary vengeance on the perpetrators of this cruelty, and to show his interest in the expedition his Majesty sailed with Barton down the Firth of Forth as far as the Island of May. Many of the pirates were captured and immediately put to death, and, in the sanguinary spirit of the times, several hogsheads filled with their heads were sent to the Scottish Court as a present to the King.

There is reason to believe, however, that the Scottish naval officers of the period did not confine themselves to the repression of piratical outrages, or the vindication of their own personal wrongs, but that in some instances, they pushed their retaliation further than either equity or the law of nations warranted. It is alleged that the Bartons captured a much larger number of the Portuguese carracks than was necessary to compensate them for

their individual losses ; and the merchants of England complained that they even detained and rifled English vessels under the pretence of searching for Portuguese goods.

In order to put a stop to this, two men-of-war were fitted out by the English Government under Lord Howard, on the urgent representation of the Portuguese Ambassador, that Barton—who, in the event of a war between England and Scotland, would prove a formidable foe to the former—could be easily taken unawares and destroyed, and the odium of the action averted by stigmatizing him as a pirate.

The English men-of-war fell in with Barton and his vessels cruising in the Downs. The Scottish admiral had with him his own ship, "The Lion," and a small sloop, but in spite of his inferiority of force, he bravely waited the attack of the enemy. The contest was long and obstinately maintained, but at length overpowering numbers told in favour of the English. Andrew Barton and the greater part of his crew were killed, and his vessels were boarded and carried into the Thames, where they were detained as lawful prizes. King James IV. was highly indignant at the loss of his ships, the insult offered to his flag, and the death of his favourite captain in what was considered a time of peace ; but he was too weak to retaliate just then.



ARMS OF SIR ANDREW WOOD.

(From the Parliament Hall, Edinburgh Castle.)

He immediately, however, set about establishing a Royal Navy, in which Scotland had hitherto been deficient. Injunctions were issued that vessels of twenty tons and upwards should be built in all the seaports of the kingdom, and "that all stout vagrants" should be compelled to serve on board these vessels. Sir Andrew Wood, the two brothers Robert and John Barton, and other experienced and enterprising merchants and traders were invited to Court and encouraged to assist in the fitting up of the infant navy. King James personally superintended and took a great interest in

the work. Besides several ships of smaller size, he constructed three vessels of very large dimensions—one of these named the "Great Michael," in magnitude, cost, and equipment exceeded any ship of war then known in the world. She was completed at Leith in the summer of 1506. Lindsay, in his *Chronicles of Scotland*, mentions that she was "ane verrie monstruous great schip, for this schip tuik so meikle timber, that schoe wasted all the woodis in Fyfe except Falkland wood, by [besides] the timber that cam out of Norway." He describes her as being 240 feet long, thirty-six feet within the walls, which were enormously thick, so that no cannon could make any impression upon her. This vessel, which cost over £40,000, was manned by 300 mariners, 120 gunners "to vse her artaillarie, and ane thousand men of warre, by Captanes, Skipperis, and Quarter Maisteris." The command of the "Great Michael" was given to Captain Sir Andrew Wood, and Robert Barton was appointed Master Skipper under him.

In the war with England, which broke out in 1513, and which terminated so disastrously at Flodden, frequent encounters at sea took place between the English and Scottish fleets; and Robert Barton captured, we are told, no less than thirteen merchant vessels, seven of which were brought in triumph to Leith.

So influential were the Bartons at Court, that we find in the same year John Barton took part in an embassy to France along with Unicorn Herald, while King James, in his letter to Henry VII. in which he declares his resolution to support his ally, the King of France, enumerates among other injuries he had received from the English monarch, the death of his favourite captain, Andrew Barton, with the detention of his ships and artillery.

The Scottish fleet which set out in the summer of 1513 to the assistance of the French King consisted of twenty-three sail, of which thirteen were large ships of war, including the "Great Michael;" the rest were small armed craft. The fleet had on board 3000 soldiers, and was under the command of the Earl of Arran, who, however, proved utterly unfit for such an important trust.

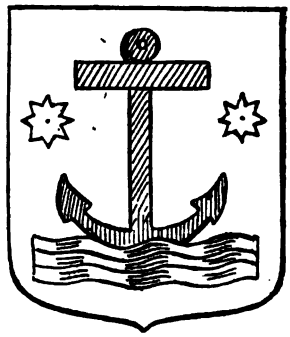
A deep obscurity rests over the subsequent history of this armament on which the Scottish king placed so much dependence, and expended such vast sums of money. A part of the fleet returned to Scotland, shattered and disabled, while another

part, including the "Great Michael," Robert Barton's ship, was purchased by Louis of France at a small price from the Scottish Government after the death of James IV.

We hear little of Barton after this in connection with the navy. In all probability his services were retained at Court where he seems to have been a favourite, for he rose in 1529 to be Comptroller of the Scottish Exchequer, Lord High Treasurer, and afterwards Master of the Mint during the minority of James V.

Still carrying on commerce with the Continent, he acquired considerable wealth, had a number of merchant ships, was the proprietor of the estates of Barnton and Cragiis, and had a knighthood conferred on him.

On the expiry of the Commercial Treaty between Scotland and the Netherlands, which had been concluded by James I. for one hundred years, an embassy was in 1531 despatched to Brussels with proposals for a renewal of the league. Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (then designated "Snawdon Herald"), Sir John Campbell, and Robert Barton were the principal envoys. They were well received by the Queen of Hungary, who had now assumed the prefecture of the Netherlands, and by the Emperor Charles V., who was at that time resident at her Court. "Among other messages they bore, was one in the form of a demand for redress to Robert Barton of Over Barnton, complaining of an attack made upon one of his vessels. It appears that the ship in question, named the "Black Pinnace," had sailed from Leith and with a favourable wind reached Yarmouth. While at anchor there, she was attacked and boarded by some of the Emperor's subjects, who not only plundered the vessel, but tortured and ill-treated the crew and passengers in the most brutal manner."*



THE BARTON ARMS.
(Edinburgh Castle.)

In 1538, the eldest son of Robert Barton, Master Skipper of the "Great Michael," Lord High Treasurer, and Master of the Mint, acquired possession of the estates of Easter and Wester Duddingston. The precept of the charter under which this gift

* *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington.*—Fraser.

or purchase was confirmed is dated 23rd June 1538, and bears to be granted by James Stuart, Commendator of Kelso, in favour of "John Bertoun, son and heir of Robert Bertoun of Over Bertoun," "granting to him and his heirs male, whom failing the eldest heir female," "for augmentation of our revenue," "the lands, etc., of Easter and Wester Duddingston, with half of the mill, mill lands, etc., in the Regality of Kelso and shire of Edinburgh, and to be held of the abbey in feu ferm for an annual payment of £93 13s 4d Scots, to be paid half-yearly at Pentecost and Martinmas in equal portions at our chapel of W. Duddingston."*

A few years after, viz., on 3rd September 1542, John Barton resigned the estates into the hands of the Commendator in favour of his son and heir, Robert Barton, which was confirmed by a new charter of date 30th July 1548 in almost similar terms to the above.

John Barton had two sons—Robert and Alexander—who appear to have been still largely engaged in foreign commerce in Queen Mary's time; chiefly between the Port of Leith and the Continent.

In the then unsettled state of the country, and the danger to shipping from foreign marauders, "Letters of Marque" were frequently given to captains of merchantmen authorising them to be armed, and to act if necessary as privateers. The Bartons had several of their vessels so fitted out; but in some way they appear to have exceeded their commission, and in their turn were charged with piracy against the Portuguese. In the records of the Scottish Privy Council, 5th September 1561, it is stated that "Robert and Alexander, sons of John Barton, are cited to appear before Her Majesty, along with J. Mowbray of Barnbogle [their cousin] and Robert and William Logan, to produce the letters of marque granted to them against the Portuguese for reiving, spulzeing, and taking of their guids;" which was followed by suspension of their letters of marque.

Easter and Wester Duddingston passed out of the hands of Robert Barton in 1552, being purchased by his brother-in-law, Thomas Thomson, "Ypothecar" and Burgess of Edinburgh; the charter of sale including the name of "Margaret Bertoun," his spouse.

* *Laing Charters, 540.*

The old family of the Thomsons comes first into notice in the troublous days of Queen Mary, in connection with the medical profession. Thomas Thomson, who, in the Privy Council Records and other documents, is described as "an ypothecair," was a man in good practice and repute. He is mentioned along with Arnault, the Queen's French Doctor, and Dr Preston as being in attendance upon Lord Ruthven, when that nobleman rising from his sick bed, got on his armour with difficulty, and almost staggered up the secret stair to Mary's apartment to assist in the murder of the unfortunate Rizzio.

Thomson had married Margaret Barton of Duddingston, the grand-daughter of the master skipper of the "Great Michael," and was a respected Burgess of Edinburgh, whose bond might safely be taken in security for the good conduct of others.

They had two sons. Adam Thomson, the eldest son, became like his father an "'ypothecair." Both are frequently referred to in the Privy Council Records of James the Sixth's time, as cautioners for the security of certain individuals from harm. Alexander, the younger surviving son, was educated for the law, and took the degree of Master of Arts, probably at St Andrews, for Edinburgh University was not yet founded, and became an Advocate at the Scottish Bar, and afterwards one of the Sheriff Deputies of Edinburgh.

Thomas Thomson, by a charter dated 13th January 1571, granted "to his beloved son, Magistro Alexandro Thomsoune, the lands and town of Easter and Wester Duddingston, with houses, tofts, crofts, mills, multures, . . . which the said Alexander Thomsoune will hold as I now do in *feu-de-ferma* from the Abbot of the Monastery of Kelso;" reserving the life-rent of the same to himself and his wife, Margaret Barton.*

Alexander Thomson of Duddingston married, in 1594-5, Margaret Preston of Craigmillar, widow of Walter Cant in St Giles Grange, and daughter of the celebrated Sir Simon Preston, Provost of Edinburgh in 1566-7, who frequently befriended Queen Mary, not only at Craigmillar Castle, but at his house in the High Street of Edinburgh.

They had two sons and two daughters: John and Thomas, Rebecca and Margaret, and appear to have resided at Easter Duddingston. Under the old titles the property was held as

* *Laing Charters, 866.*

feudatory of the Abbey of Kelso, but the appropriation by the Crown of the Church and Abbey lands at the Reformation led naturally to a revisal of title deeds, and accordingly we find that in the year 1600 Alexander Thomson made a surrender of his lands of Easter and Wester Duddingston to the Crown. These were reconveyed to him by a charter under the Great Seal, in which after a description of the property, it is stated, "and which His Majesty now united into one whole and free tenandry to be called the Tenandry of Duddingstoun; the principal habitation of Easter Duddingstoun to be the principal messuage of the whole." The annual feu-duty to the Crown is stated to be "£74 6s 8d Scots and 6s 8d of augmentation." The charter, which is dated at "Holyrood, 22 November 1600, in the thirty-fourth year of our reign," is witnessed by a number of the leading courtiers of the day.

There can be little doubt that the "principal habitation" referred to in this document was Duddingston Lodge, at Easter Duddingston, owned and occupied until recently by the late Mr Charles Jenner, but much altered since it was the dwelling-place of the Bartons and the Thomsons of old.



THOMSON'S TOMB.

Alexander Thomson died on 3rd December 1603, and was buried, as became the Lord of the Manor, within the chancel of Duddingston Church, where his tombstone may still be seen. It is a square slab set into the north wall, bearing a shield with the arms of Preston and Thomson, with their initials in raised lettering, M. A. T., M. P., and the quaint Latin motto, "*Dies mortis, aeternæ vitæ natalis est fidelibus, 10 Jan. 1603.*" ["The day of death is to believers the birthday of eternal life."] It has at one time been painted and gilded. The date of Margaret Preston's death is uncertain, but it was prior to 1608. The eldest son, John, succeeded his father, but he died a few years

after at the early age of twelve, and in 1607 his brother Thomas was served heir to the Barony. On the attainment of his majority he seems to have been styled "Sir Thomas Thomson of Duddingston, Knight." Having made a resignation for reinfeftment, a new charter subsequently followed, which was approved by the Scottish Parliament in 1633.*

Sir Thomas was married to Margaret Scrymgour of the family of Viscount Dudhope, Constable of Dundee, by whom he had a large family of sons and daughters.

Being a devoted Royalist, he adhered to the cause of Charles I., in spite of the tyrannical measures of that monarch. We find him submitting to the Act enforcing surrender of the tithes to the Crown which had been appropriated largely by the owners of the soil, and purchasing these in the expectation that they would carry with them the patronage of the Parish Church. The King, however, refused to give up the patronage to him, as we learn from a letter under his hand addressed to the Scottish Privy Council on the 7th May 1631, and so it remained in the gift of the Crown till 1690.

In 1636 Sir Thomas Thomson was created a knight baronet of Nova Scotia, and appears to have had a tract of land named Duddingston adjoining the lands and Barony of Salden in that colony extending along the river Sifsibone for three miles. He took an active part on the Royalist side in the troubles connected with the King's attempt to establish Prelacy, and seems to have been a member of the Privy Council and somewhat involved in the squabbles of that period, as the following extracts from the letters of the Rev. Robert Baillie show—1637 :—

"The Treasurer at that time (Sir John Stewart of Traquair) was much, as is thought, threatened by the King, and it is no marvel, for besides other misfortunes, Sir Thomas Thomson, register's [Lord Register—Sir John Hay] good-brother, had written to Canterbury of him exceedingly maliciously, which letter he got and challenged on its calumnies, but imputed them mainly to Register, with whom he bears most professed enmity. Wigton being taxed in the information, took occasion on the Council day in Linlithgow, upon some idle words of the Register's to fall on him with most opprobrious words—as 'base villain and poltroon,' whom he threatened to stick, but was holden off him."

From Spalding's *History of the Troubles in Scotland* from 1624 to to 1645, we learn :—

* *Laing Charters.*

"February 1638.—The sessions sit in Stirling, but nothing is done in these troublesome times. It was reported that the Bishop of Argyle, the Dean of Edinburgh, the Constable of Dundee, and Sir Thomas Thomson were put off the Council, and the Lord Doune and others put in their room." And at page 215—anno 1640—"Word came to Aberdeen about the last of March that the Earl of Southesk, Mr James Fairlie, Bishop of Argyle, Sir James Stewart, advocate, &c., with divers others, about twenty-four persons, were all taken and apprehended in Edinburgh as enemies of the Confederates. They are all warded in townsmen's houses, of Edinburgh, yet nightly watched that none should go out or come in without their knowledge, because they were anti-Covenanters. . . . Thereafter the new styled Estates [Parliament] send the Earl of Southesk to England with a new imprinted information to inform them of England of their business. Sir Thomas Thomson was also taken; he comes, swears, and subscribes the Covenant and Band of Relief; he is put upon the Council thereafter and entrapped for sending some of the King's letters privately to General Ruthven in the Castle, whereat the Estates were highly offended he sitting at the Council table, for the whilk he is laid fast in irons in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and thereafter put to liberty and had to the Bowhead with the rest."

How difficult it is for a public man to please all parties!

In Oliver Cromwell's "Act of Grace and Pardon," passed in April 1654, Sir Thomas is among those excepted from the benefit of it; so that it is supposed his estate must have remained sequestrated, the revenues, however, being settled upon his wife.

From the Kirk Session Records we learn that he was elected to be an elder in Duddingston Church, but he does not appear to have been ordained with the others chosen at the same time. He seems to have been a very regular attender at church, however, as he is frequently mentioned as witness to baptisms occurring there.

In 1661 he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Edinburgh for the purpose of raising its proportion of an annuity of £40,000 granted to Charles II., and was otherwise zealous as formerly in the Royalist cause.

Sir Thomas died 11th January 1662 in London (where he is supposed to have gone after the Restoration of Charles II., to get redress for his wrongs). "His body was brought," says the Register, "to the Roads of Leith upon Tuesday, the 11th day of February," and "was brought on shore, and set in the Kirk at Leith; and upon Saturday, the 15th February, buried in his awne buriall place in the quhoir of the Church of Duddingstone." *

* *Duddingston Register.*

Sir Thomas was survived by four sons and two daughters, of whom the eldest son Patrick succeeded him in the estates and honours. His daughter Margaret married Thomas Lord Dunkeld (July 1662), by whom she had three sons and five daughters. Her son, James Galloway, third Lord Dunkeld, was an officer under Viscount Dundee at the Battle of Killiecrankie in 1689, for which he had to flee the country. Being outlawed, he betook himself to France, where he afterwards became a Colonel in the French service, and was killed in battle.

The other surviving daughter married Sir John Gibson of Pentland.

Sir Patrick Thomson was served heir to his father 23rd March 1666, and took sasine of the lands and towns of Easter and Wester Duddingston in April following. Tradition says that he was concerned in the Battle of Pentland or some of the other engagements of the Covenanting period, which placed him in the power of the Duke of Lauderdale,* but there is reason to doubt this.

Unfortunately, either through his father's extravagance, or losses in the Royalist cause, Sir Patrick found his patrimony heavily burdened with debt, and several portions of the lands had to be disposed of to meet pressing demands.

So involved had matters become, and so numerous were the obligations, that in order to clear these off, a mortgage was in 1667 granted to Henry Nisbett of Craigentinnie, Knight, in which the whole estate of Easter and Wester Duddingston was assigned to him in security. This, of course, did not carry with it the right of possession. It was reserved for a more powerful and less scrupulous neighbour to dispossess Sir Patrick Thomson of his father's property.

That neighbour was no less a personage than the famous Duke of Lauderdale. The Duke, who had succeeded Middleton in the government of Scotland in 1669, as High Commissioner of Charles II., was the most prominent and powerful man in the kingdom at the time. He owned the neighbouring estate and mansion of Brunstane, and the burdened state of the Duddingston barony made it an easy matter for him to add it to his estates.

In September 1673 Sir Patrick Thomson disposed of it to the Duke under a burden to him of £4628 ; and with the consent of his

* Old MS. in the Edinburgh University.

creditors, or as it is expressly mentioned, "for their satisfaction," but not without a suspicion that the transaction was of a piece with the grasping treacherous character of the Duke. It is said that he told Sir Patrick that if he did not get out of the way he would hang him.

Sir Patrick, who appears to have been in indifferent health, did not long survive this transaction. He died in Edinburgh 13th February 1674 at the age of thirty-six without issue. The after history of his surviving brothers is involved in considerable obscurity. James, the next in succession, assumed the title of Sir James Thomson. He was a zealous Jacobite, and being concerned in the Rebellion of 1715, had to flee the country, and finished his mortal career a few years afterwards, at Ambleteuse in France. His widow, who was a lady of property in Berwickshire, attained the age of ninety-four, and used to relate many anecdotes of the wars her husband had some share in, the troubles of the Union, etc. Of her three children, John the eldest, a colonel in the army, and heir presumptive to the title (but who was never married), was killed in attempting to storm Fort Lazarus at Carthagena Nova. Of the second, Margaret, nothing is known. James, to whom the title by right fell, seems never to have assumed it; he was born in 1700, and lived to the age of seventy-eight. A son of his, writing in 1801, gives some account of the family, and mentions that he added the letter "p" to his name at the request of an old lady, a relation, who left him some money provided he did so. This gentleman, J. Thompson, educated in Edinburgh for the medical profession, and entering the naval service as surgeon previous to the peace of Versailles in 1763, served in that capacity at various times till 1793, when he was appointed surgeon at Sheerness yard, and was afterwards promoted to Woolwich and Deptford. Further trace of his descendants, if any, has been lost. * Attempts have at various times been made by other branches of the Thomson family to identify themselves with the Duddingston Baronets, but without success. The title is now extinct.

The disappearance of the Thomsons as Lords of the Manor, and the union of the Barony of Duddingston with that of Brunstane, which continued for many years, leads us at this point to allude shortly to the family history of the latter estate.

* See *Stair's Decisions*, Vol. II., p. 781, and MS. University Library.

CHAPTER V.

THE FAMILY OF THE CRICHTONS.

ALTHOUGH Brunstane House is not within the parish of Duddingston, portions of its lands are, and its story links itself so closely into that with which we are now chiefly concerned, that a short digression will be excused in order that the continuity of the family history may be made clear to the reader.

Brunstane, or Gilbertoun as it was formerly named, is a Barony of very ancient date.

The present mansion which forms three sides of a square, was erected, or more strictly speaking, was re-erected in 1639.

The older one which it superseded was evidently of the same size, and probably built in the same form. Underneath the present house there is a range of vaults, which appear to be of much older date than the superstructure, while the east wing also bears evidence of older date than the rest of the building—the walls being much thicker, and the ridge of the roof indicating it had at one time been thatched. In all likelihood the present house is a mere restoration of the old house of Gilbertoun which had become a ruin; the front and the west wing being probably rebuilt from the top of the vault, while the east wing required only to be roofed.

It is a plain edifice in the old Scottish domestic style of architecture, with few pretensions to ornament or dignity; yet it has a substantial air of old world gentility which is pleasing.

It is beautifully situated in a well wooded park, skirted on the north-east side of a deep ravine, through which flows the Niddrie or Magdalene Burn.

The burn is crossed at some distance from the house by an old stone bridge of one arch, which it has been asserted is Roman, though without any sufficient data. We rather incline to the belief that it was built in the fourteenth century. At some time or other it must have been wilfully destroyed, and had remained for

a considerable period in a state of ruin; the original parapets and a great part of the arch on each side having disappeared. It was afterwards restored with a new course of arching over the old vaussoirs, and a parapet considerably within the old line of roadway, but in much inferior workmanship to the original. The restoration was in all probability effected after the re-erection of Brunstane House in 1639.

The family of Crichton, who formerly held the lands of Gilbertoun, claim to be descended from an old Scottish stock. Their name appears frequently in old charters and in the public records of national history as a warlike and patriotic race. The family held large estates in the parish of Penicuik, where their chief seat—Brunstane Castle—was situated; and for much of what follows concerning them we have to acknowledge our obligations to Mr J. J. Wilson, author of the *Annals of Penicuik*, whose notes were freely put at our disposal.

In 1373 "David de Penycuke, for good service and advice rendered to him," granted to his cousin, "William de Crichtoune, Lord of that Ilk," his whole lands of "Burnston," &c., "within the Lordship of Penycuke." This was confirmed by King Robert II. In 1410 a charter was granted under the Great Seal to the wife of "William de Crichtoune of the lands of Gilbertoun," which by successive Sasines and Retours passed to her descendants as follows:—To Thomas, her son, in 1447, to George Crichtoune in 1456, and to his brother John in 1461. George, in the Retour to the latter, is described as "Provost of the College Kirk of Crichtoune." John was succeeded on his death in 1487 by his son Edward, who was in possession of the lands of Brunstane and Gilbertoun in 1493.

On the death of Edward, his son, John Crichton was served heir in 1507, "In all and whole the lands of Gilbertoun, with the pertinents lying within the Sheriffdom of Edinburgh, and also of the lands of Brunstowne, and Welshtowne in the Barony of Penycuke." From these old documents we learn that the lands of Gilberton were held in chief of the King "for service of wood and relief," while the Reddendo (or clause stating the rent) of "Brunstowne" was "a red rose payable to the superior on the ground at the feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist."

John Crichton was succeeded in 1530 by his son, Alexander, who was a somewhat celebrated public man in his day. He was

in the service of the Crown and was employed on missions to France during the minority of Queen Mary, and seems to have acted for a time in the service of the Queen Mother and Cardinal Beaton, her adviser. When the latter became obnoxious to the Scottish Lords, a scheme was formed to get rid of him by assassination, and the Laird of Brunstane entered into it warmly. In July 1545 he opened a communication with Sir Ralph Sadler, "touching the killing of the Cardinal," and that Englishman shows his opinion of the character of his correspondent by coolly hinting at "a reward of the deed," and the "glory of God that would accrue from it."* In the same year Crichton opened communication with several persons with the hope of extracting protection and reward from Henry VIII. for the murder of the Cardinal, but as pay did not seem forthcoming he took no active hand in the final catastrophe. This brought him under the strong suspicion of the Lords of the Privy Council and the Regent Arran, which was further confirmed by his collusion with the Duke of Somerset in the invasion of 1547, when after his victory at Pinkie, he occupied Leith, and burned and pillaged a great part of Edinburgh.

After the withdrawal of the English, Alexander Crichton did not escape the vengeance of the Government. In the Register of the Privy Council of that year we find the following deliverance passed upon him:—

"The same day for as mekill as my Lord Governour and Lordis Counsale has fand respect to the diverse enorme and exorbitant crymes committit and done by the Lardis of Ormestoun (John Cockburne) and Brunstane (Alexander Crichtoune) and siclik be the keparis of the hous of Saltoun, and for thair false treasonabill dedis, and how that thair houssis of Ormstoun, Saltoun, and Gilbertoun hes been put in our auld ynemis' handis, to the subversioun of the countre to thir opinion, and last of all our saidis auld ynemies hes bene presentlie in the saidis houssis; quharthrow thai have declairit thaim oppin and manifest traitouris and ressalteries of our saidis auld ynemies, and for the persuit thairof my Lord Governour hes presentlie assegit the saidis houssis and recoverit the saym be way of deid; and because the saidis houssis may engenner cummeyris in the countrie, and that na personis will tak upon hand to keip the samyn surlie fra our saidis auld ynemies, thair assistars and partakeris, thairfor it is devisit, statut, and ordanit that THE SAIDIS HOUSSIS OF SALTOUN, ORMESTOUN, AND GILBERTOUN BE CASSIN DOWN, swa that na habitatioun

* *Tytler's History.*

sal be had in ony of the saidis placis, to our saidis auld ynemies fra thym furth, in ony tymes to cum."

In addition to this it would appear Alexander Crichton had his Castle of Brunstane burned and his lands at Penicuik forfeited by the Crown, and granted to one James Sym, a Burgess of Edinburgh. Alexander Crichton did not long survive these reverses, for we find that he died before 1554.

By one of those sudden changes of Government for which this disturbed period of Scottish history is famous, the attainder and forfeiture did not continue. John Crichton, the son of Alexander, was reinstated in his patrimonial estates by an Act of the Parliament held by the Queen Regent in 1558. He seems, however, to have afterwards gone over to the side of the Lords of the Congregation, for in 1559, when they were besieging the Queen Mother and her French allies in the town of Leith, we find that the French garrison, on 6th November, made a sortie from Leith with a view to burn and destroy "the Laird of Brunstoun's place."

This, we think, must refer to Gilberton, and not to the castle at Penicuik, which was much too distant, and would have been too dangerous an undertaking for their slender force; and no doubt it was a reprisal for Crichton's desertion of the Queen Mother's cause. The attack was frustrated by the Lords of the Congregation in a skirmish that took place at Restalrig, in which the French suffered severely and were driven back into Leith.

It appears, however, from this, that either the house of Gilberton had not been "cassin down" in 1547, as ordered by the Privy Council, or if so, that at least a part of it had subsequently been restored. We are inclined to think, from all the circumstances of the case, that the greater part of the house had been "cassin down" and was in ruins, and that it was only the east wing (still standing) which was inhabited, upon which the Frenchmen intended to make a raid.

In 1565 the Laird of Brunstane is found again in conflict with the authorities. This time it is against the Government of Mary Queen of Scots. In name of the king and queen, the Council commanded and charged James, Earl of Morton, Lord Dalkeith, Lord Ruthven, John Cockburn of Ormiston, and John Crichtone of Brunstane, etc., "to com-appear personally before the King and Queen's Majestie and Lords of their Secret Counsell at Edinburgh, upon the 6th day of April next, to answer to sic things as

shall be laid to their charge, under pain of rebellion and putting them to the horn."

If at this period the mansion house was neither so commodious nor so secure as it had once been, the Laird of Brunstane seems not to have resided much at Gilberton after this date. He was now an old man, and having got into monetary difficulties, we are told that in November 1597 "John Creichtoune, elder, of Brunston, with consent of Margaret Adamson, his spouse, and James Creichtoune, younger thereof," and certain other persons, entered into contract for alienating the estate of Gilberton "to Dame Jean Flemying, Lady Thirlestane, relict of the deceased John, Lord Thirlestane, Chancellor of Scotland, for the sum of 40,000 merks."

John Crichton died in 1608, and on 17th May of the same year his son James Crichton was served heir to him in the lands of Brunstane (Penicuik). Even these did not remain long in his hands after this, and he began to look out for a fresh settlement in another quarter. About 1609 the old Baronial Castle of Brunstane, with the estate had also passed from him into the hands of Lady Thirlestane, with the consent of his son and heir, Thomas Crichton. These having received from James VI. a grant of lands in the plantation of Ulster (rendered vacant by the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, and the flight of the powerful and wealthy Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, by which about 500,000 acres of forfeited land in Ulster were at the disposal of the Crown) betook themselves with their families to that kingdom. Thomas Crichton and his brother Abraham had each a grant of 2000 acres there.



BRUNSTANE HOUSE, EAST SIDE.
(From an Old Drawing.)

Thus disappeared from the stage of Scottish politics one of the oldest families of the country. The Crichtons of Gilberton and Brunstane have long been forgotten, but strange to say the name by which they were in the days of their power best known has

ever since adhered to the former place. The old name has been all but lost, and Gilberton is now better known as Brunstane.

THE LAUDERDALE FAMILY.

John, second Lord Maitland of Thirlestane, succeeded to his mother in 1609 in the estates acquired by her, namely—of Gilberton, Brunstane, Braidwood, Welchtown, and Ravenshauche. In the Retour, in which he is served her heir to the lands of Gilberton, she is described as "Lady Jean Flemying, relict of the deceased Lord Thirlestane, Chancellor of the Kingdom of Scotland, and sometime Countess of Cassillis." She survived her first husband fifteen years, and her only son by that marriage, who now succeeded her in these estates, aftewards rose to high honour and power, and was the founder of the Lauderdale family.

On Lord Maitland's succession to the lands of Gilberton, the old house of the Crichtons appears to have been still in a ruinous condition, and we have no record of either his mother or himself residing there, their principal residences being Lethington and Thirlestane. He married, in 1610, Lady Isabel Seton, second daughter of Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, High Chancellor of Scotland, by whom he had a son, John Maitland, born 24th May 1616.

Gilberton, not being an entailed estate, seems to have formed part of the marriage settlement or contract, for in that year a charter was granted of the lands of Gilberton, &c., in favour of Lord Maitland and his wife, Lady Isabel Seton.

After the death of the latter in 1638, his Lordship was married to Elizabeth Lauder, youngest daughter of Richard Lauder of Haltoun, by whom he had a large family. In 1634 he was created Earl of Lauderdale, and had other honours showered upon him.

About the year 1638, the Earl's eldest son, John, contracted a marriage alliance with Lady Anne Home, second daughter of the first Earl of Home, and evidently with a view to its becoming the residence of the young couple, the Earl set about rebuilding the old ruined mansion of Gilberton. That it was not intended for his own use, but for that of his son and successor, is evident from the fact that the combined arms of his son and daughter-in-law are to be found carved above the principal entrance, with the date 1639.

Here doubtless John Maitland and his young wife spent the early years of their married life pleasantly enough, exchanging courtesies with their near neighbour, Sir Thomas Thomson of Easter Duddingston; with Sir John Wauchope of Niddrie, "his old friend and bed-fellow," who had just a few years before, on the restoration of the estate to his family, rebuilt the mansion of Niddrie-Marischall; with Sir James Hamilton of Prestonfield; the Prestons of Craigmillar, and other local magnates which the parish and neighbourhood then afforded in the way of society.

On the death of his father, the first Earl, in 1645, the title and estates devolved on John Maitland, and as the story of his career is a well-known part of Scottish history, it is not necessary to detail it here. A man of great natural ability, though unscrupulous to the last degree, he rose to the highest eminence in the State under Charles II., by whom he was in May 1672 advanced to the dignity of Duke of Lauderdale.

In 1671, while at the height of his power as Minister for Scotland, his wife died, and he afterwards fell under the influence of one of the most extraordinary women of her age. This was Lady Dysart, the eldest daughter and heiress of the first Earl of Dysart, and Countess of Dysart in her own right. She was the widow of Sir Lionel Tolemache or Talmash, and was now forty-five years of age. "A woman of great beauty, with spirit and accomplishments, but extravagant in her expenditure, venal and rapacious, and possessed of a violent temper and restless ambition."* She soon acquired a complete ascendency over Lauderdale, and contributed greatly to degrade his character and government in public estimation. They were married a few weeks after the death of his first wife, and we find her exercising a pernicious influence not only in the affairs of the country in general, but making her greed and vindictiveness felt in the parish of Duddingston in no small degree.

By her first marriage she had one son—William Talmash, afterwards Earl of Dysart, and two daughters—one of whom, Elizabeth Talmash, afterwards married Archibald, Marquis of Lorn, and became the first Duchess of Argyle.

The estates of Easter and Wester Duddingston, adjoining their mansion of Gilberton, did not escape their cupidity. Their burdened condition made their owner, Sir Patrick Thomson, not

**Pictorial History of Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 703.

unwillingly perhaps, to get rid of that which he could not manage. At all events, as has been stated, they became the property of the Duke and Duchess in 1673.

On the death of the Duke in 1682, the Baronies of Gilberton (or as in the title deeds "vulgarly called Brunstane") and Duddingston, with several other properties, fell into the hands of the Duchess, to the exclusion of Charles, his half-brother, the next heir to the title. This she had craftily secured in her favour by a charter under the Great Seal, in March of the same year, five months before her husband died, in which she is described as "Duchess of Lauderdale and Baroness of Brunstane."

This transaction was generally considered at the time not to have been honestly gone about, and popular feeling against her was very strong. Fountainhall plainly says so. "All persones cryes shame upon him [the Duke] for ruining the memory and standing of his family by giving away Dudiston, &c., in property to his Duchess, and Leidington to her son Huntingtour." *

A protracted litigation between her and her brother-in-law ensued, into the details of which we cannot here enter, and so great was her influence at Court and over the Judges, that the decision was largely in her favour. The Earl had to pay the debts and burdens on property that never was his, which extorted from Sir John Dalrymple of Stair the tart remark, that "it was a ravenous cormorant appetite in her to devour all;" while Sir George Mackenzie said "that to make the Earl ratify, and likewise pay the English debts, was to make his ratification the winding-sheet of the Earldom." But her ladyship had many litigations in her day, in all of which her greed and rapacity are conspicuous.

Among others she had one with her neighbour Sir James Dick of Prestonfield. This was rather a curious dispute. It had reference to the stocking of Duddingston Loch with swans, and though of a trifling nature it very well illustrates the character of the woman, and is not without interest. We give the story as told by Fountainhall:—

"6th March 1688.—The Duchess of Lauderdale pershues Sir James Dick of Priestfield for ane ryot, in so far as shee haveing taken out of Duddingston Loch five of the swans which, or their parents, were put in by her lord, he took them back again except two, whose skins shee had given to Generall Drummond in his sickness, to warm his breast, for

* Fountainhall's *Historical Notices.*

which he (Sir James Dick) broke up doors, which *Primo*, no constable by the Act of Parliament 1661, is allowed to doe. *Secundo*, he could not *sibi jus dicere*. ALLEADGED [for Sir James Dick] the swans were his own, he standing infeft in the loch, and consequently, in all that fed on it; and though they were *ferœ naturæ*, *paragru institution de Rerum divisione*, yet they were like wild beasts in his park, and fish in his ponds, and though the first were put in by the Duke of Lauderdale, yet the product was Sir James's. The Lords of Council fund if they (the swans) had come of their own accord and bigget there, then they were Sir James's, but since the owner who put them in was known, they fund they belonged to the Dutchess. Upon which [decision] he [Sir James] turned all the rest out of his loch."

The dispute did not end here, for the Duke of Hamilton, holding that the loch bounded with the King's Park, and so belonged to him, he put the swans in again, and thus took possession in the King's name of the loch, which action, concludes Fountainhall, "will cost Sir James ane declarator of property to clear his right."



BRUNSTANE HOUSE.

This extraordinary woman, who seems after this to have divided her time between Brunstane and her other estate of Ham in Surrey, died in June 1696, and was succeeded in her estates by her son Lyonell, second Earl of Dysart, who during his mother's lifetime was known as Lord Huntingtower.

For the next forty years the Baronies of Brunstane and Duddingston were held by the Dysart family, though we have no evidence that they ever made their residence at Brunstane House. The probability is that it was occupied from time to time during the greater part of that period by the Earl's sister—Elizabeth Talmash—the wife of Archibald Lord Lorn. She had been married to him in 1679, at a time when the fortunes of the Argyle family were in a critical condition, owing to his father's complicity in the attempt to overthrow the Government of James II., and for which he was beheaded in 1685 in Edinburgh.

THE ARGYLE FAMILY.

The noble family of Argyle has been long distinguished in the annals of Scotland by a patriotic zeal in the religious and political progress of the country, which not infrequently brought it to the verge of extinction. Perhaps at no other period than that at which our story has now reached was the crisis so acute and the danger so great.

The then Earl, in consequence of his unsuccessful opposition to the tyranny of James, was an outlaw, and his estates and property were confiscated. His son, Archibald Lord Lorn, but for his marriage with the Duchess of Lauderdale's daughter would in all probability have been a fugitive too. But the Lauderdale influence was strong, and though the father was an outlaw and an exile, his son was granted a small allowance by the Government, and resided with his wife at Brunstane House. After his father's arrest and execution in 1685, Lord Lorn, fearing for his personal safety, fled to Holland, where he remained till 1688, in which year in attendance upon William Prince of Orange, he accompanied the expedition which drove James II. from the throne of England. The first Scottish Parliament of the Revolution immediately restored him not only to all his father's rights and privileges, but gave him a leading position in the Government.

Lord Lorn was a distinguished statesman and lawyer, as well as a brave and skilful soldier. In 1695 he raised a regiment chiefly composed of the Clan Campbell, which he carried over to Flanders, where it was particularly distinguished during King William's wars; and for this and other eminent services, as well as for unalterable attachment to King and country, he was in 1701 advanced to the dignity of Duke of Argyle. Unfortunately his domestic happiness did not keep pace with his honours. Incompatibility of temperament between him and his wife, led to frequent misunderstandings and quarrels, and ultimately to separation.

In the autumn of 1699 it appears to have been proposed to sell the estates of Easter and Wester Duddingston along with Brunstane, and a family compact was entered into with the Earl of Dysart containing articles of agreement relative to the sale. It was actually registered in the Books of Council and Session (27th September 1701), but was not at that time acted upon.

The Duchess of Argyle continued to reside at Brunstane with her two sons, but the Duke for the last few years of his life was quite alienated from her, and spent his time between his seat at Inveraray and Chirton in Northumberland. He died at Chirton 25th September 1703.

From a letter dated Duddingston, 24th October following, we have some curious family details given by the Duchess as to the property, along with her orders for the funeral. The body was brought by way of Kelso to Duddingston, where it was received at seven o'clock at night "by twelve of his blood relatives," preparatory to the more public funeral at Holyrood Abbey.

John, the Duke's eldest son, was a young man of twenty-three when he succeeded his father. Much of his time had been spent at Brunstane House, and when a boy he had been brought much in contact with his grandmother, the Duchess of Lauderdale, from whom he doubtless derived some of the talent which afterwards characterised his career.

Very early in life—before he was fourteen years of age—he had been taken into favour at the Court of William and Mary, and in 1694 was actually preferred to the command of a regiment, while still a lad. In 1705 he was created a Peer of England with the title of Earl of Greenwich and Baron Chatham. After a brilliant campaign on the Continent with the Duke of Marlborough, he returned home to Scotland and took an active part in carrying through the negotiations for the Treaty of Union between England and Scotland in 1707, and we have it on tradition that some of the signatures to the treaty were adhibited in Brunstane House.

This transaction did not increase his popularity. He returned in the same year to his military duties under Marlborough, and took a prominent part in the battle of Oudenarde, the seige of Lisle, and other important engagements in 1708-10, through all of which he passed unhurt. This favourite of fortune, who through many dangers had led a charmed life, was on his return in 1719 created Duke of Greenwich.

His mother survived until 1735, and appears to have resided a good deal at Brunstane, which she held from her nephew, the Earl of Dysart. In May of that year the Duke entered into negotiations with his cousin with a view to acquiring the estates of Brunstane and Duddingston. This was effected under the old

agreement of 1699 formerly referred to, and a disposition in conformity therewith was ultimately made in favour of the Duke. This was followed by a charter under the Great Seal, dated 26th July 1736, in favour of his grace, in which the property is thus described and disponed:—"All and whole the lands of Gilbertoun, commonly called Brunstane," etc., and "the Baronies of Easter and Wester Duddingston," with a specification of the burdens.

The rental due to the Crown is set at £74 3s 4d of feu, with 6s 8d of augmentation; and for the teind sheaves one penny blench; paying also to the minister serving the cure of the church of Duddingston a fixed stipend, as modified to him, and providing communion elements. The payment for Gilberton was two pence blench yearly, and for the teind sheaves 13s 4d Scots.

John, Duke of Argyle, died in 1743, at the age of sixty-three, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. A man of outstanding ability, of kindly disposition, and a prominent political power in his day, Sir Walter Scott has for ever embalmed his memory in our hearts as the friend of "Jeanie Deans," in the *Heart of Midlothian*.

As the Duke had no son, the English Dukedom became extinct, while his Scotch titles and patrimonial estates fell to his brother Archibald, then Earl of Islay.

Archibald, third Duke of Argyle, was like his brother, a man of influence, and he was early called to take a prominent place in the Government. He was largely involved in the abolition in 1747 of the heritable sheriffships and other feudal jurisdictions which for centuries had been a fruitful source of aristocratic tyranny and disorder. The compensation paid by the Crown to the Duke for the loss of his feudal jurisdictions was no less than £21,000. "A cheap bargain for the public (says Chambers in his *Stories of Old Families*), because an end was put to these capricious beheadings, hangings, and imprisonments in dungeons which are pictured by Scott in the visit of Dugald Dalgetty to Inveraray." The old Castle of Inveraray, which figures in the *Legend of Montrose*, with its surrounding town, was at great expense demolished by this Duke, and the present stately castle erected in its place. It is said that the cost of re-erecting the town and castle and laying out the grounds was about £300,000, and that it so severely taxed his resources that he felt himself com-

pelled to dispose of his grandmother's Barony of Duddingston with the Barony and Mansion of Brunstane in order to clear himself of debt.

These were disposed to different purchasers and at different times. The lands of Easter and Wester Duddingston were sold in 1745 to James the eighth Earl of Abercorn; while the estate and Mansion of Brunstane, along with the lands of Figgate near the sea, were sold in 1747 to Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, the nephew of that stern old patriot of the same name, who after the Union quitted Scotland, declaring that "She was only fit for the slaves who sold her."

Though the Duke of Argyle's connection with the property was thus brought to an end, his social intimacy with Brunstane continued to be close and friendly down to the time of his death in 1761. He was a frequent visitor there, and some reminiscences of an interesting nature may be mentioned in connection with the new occupants, the Fletchers, before we take up the story of the Abercorn Family, by whom the Baronies of Duddingston and Brunstane were afterwards re-united.



BRUNSTANE BRIDGE.

CHAPTER VI.

ANDREW FLETCHER, LORD MILTON.
ARCHIBALD, THIRD DUKE OF ARGYLE.—THE ABERCORN FAMILY.



NDREW FLETCHER, son of Henry Fletcher of Saltoun, by his wife, a daughter of Sir J. Carnegie of Pittarow, was bred to the law, and ultimately he arrived at great distinction in his profession.

During the Rebellion of 1745 he was Lord Justice-Clerk, and was called upon to take a leading part in the restoration of tranquility in Edinburgh after the departure of the Prince on his ill-starred expedition to England. The city having for the time been deprived of its municipal government, Lord Milton assumed the place of Magistrates and Council by direction of the Government.

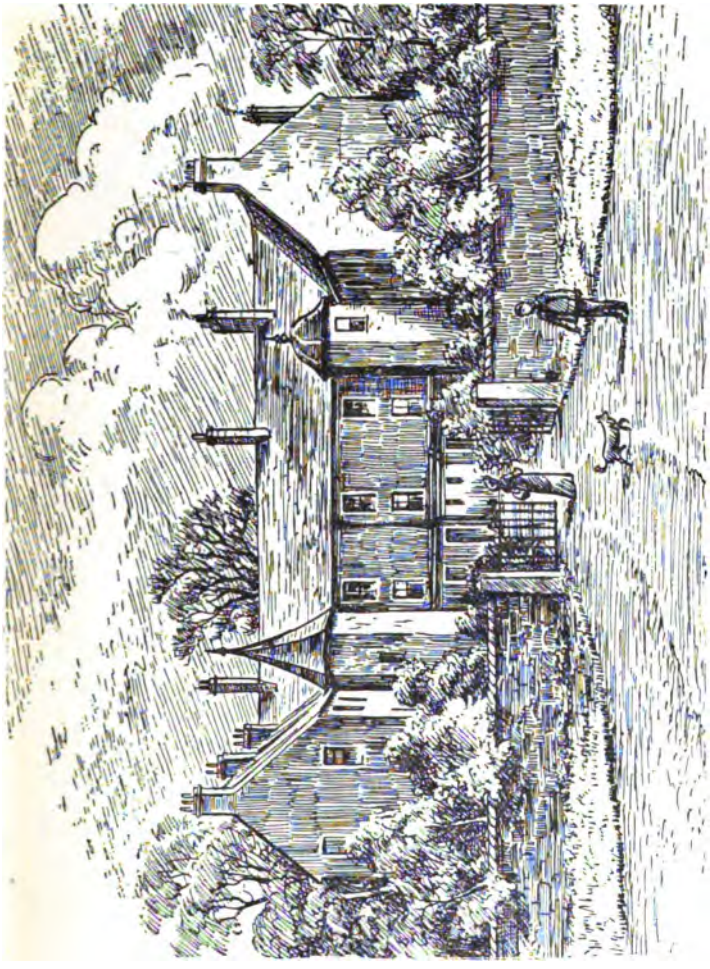
In 1746, he was appointed Principal Keeper of His Majesty's Signet in Scotland, was Governor of the British Linen Company's Bank, which had just then received its charter of incorporation from George II., and held many other offices of trust.

When the Duke of Cumberland was admitted to the freedom of all the corporations within the city in the same year the "Acts of Admission," we are told, "were sent to him by the Lord Justice-Clerk (Lord Milton) in a gold box, the expense of which amounted to £1212 Scots, or £101 sterling."*

Lord Milton, shortly after acquiring Brunstane House, laid out a considerable sum in repairing and beautifying it. The interior was entirely renovated, and some fine plaster work remains to this day in perfect condition, to testify to the excellency of the workmanship, and the taste of his lordship. Particular mention may be made of the various artistic designs over some of the fireplaces. One in the octagonal dining-room is an elaborate design in high relief in which the Saltoun Arms are combined with symbols of Justice and War, forming a most striking group. In this same room are three landscapes painted on panels above the

* *Scots Antiquarian Transactions.*

doors. They are evidently the work of a foreign artist, and are possibly representations of places of interest in connection with the Continental War in which John, Duke of Argyle, took a prominent part. Though somewhat faded now, they are not without



BRUNSTANE HOUSE.

merit as works of art. In all probability they are the work of Francis Zuccherelli, a famous eighteenth century painter, who, according to Sir Daniel Wilson, was employed by Lord Milton

to decorate Milton House, his town residence, in the Canongate.



In another apartment is a fine medallion in plaster or cement enclosed in wreaths of foliage, after the style of the Queen Anne period of decoration. It represents the bombardment of a castle by a ship of war, with two boats manned, making for the fort. It is very artistically executed, and in wonderful preservation considering its age and the many changes which the house has seen. It has been surmised that this is a representation of the taking of Puerto-Bello, an important Spanish town on the Isthmus of Panama, bombarded by Admiral Vernon in 1739.

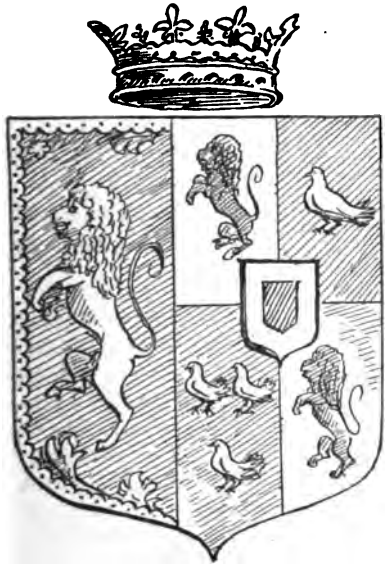
This achievement had made considerable excitement throughout the country at the time. Medals had been struck in commemoration of the event. Vernon was the hero of the day; and what more natural than that Lord Milton should cause a memorial of it to be placed over his drawing-room mantel. A comparison of the medals and the medallion is at all events strongly suggestive of a common origin, and what makes it more interesting now is that the burgh of Portobello should afterwards have arisen on part of Lord Milton's property, then considered of little value, and practically waste ground.

Some of the apartments in Brunstane House are handsome; the ball-room especially must have been very fine. It is now sub-divided into three rooms, but originally it was sixty-six feet long, with a lofty carved-oak ceiling, and occupied the whole of the upper storey of the west wing.

Externally the house has all the advantages of a picturesque situation, and the pleasure grounds were at one time both extensive and beautiful. We have an interesting description of the locality in a paper written by the Rev. Thomas White, minister of Liberton from 1752, for the *Scots Antiquaries*, in the first volume of their transactions published in 1792. He says:—

"Around the house there are many old trees; the garden, which contains more than three acres, is on the east, and at some distance from the house. It is encompassed by a high wall. It is of an oblong form. In it are still a great many fruit trees. A fine walk reaches from west to east. Towards the eastern extremity is a pond on each hand. At the further end of the south pond on an artificial mount is a summer house. Above the door is neatly carved the armorial bearings of Fletcher of Saltoun. On the north side of the garden is a pretty circular mount, about the circumference of which there has been a broad gravel walk. It was formerly surrounded with water, and there could be no access to it except by a boat or a bridge. The lands of Brunstane are not extensive, but are perfectly well enclosed and properly divided. The north-west park is bisected by a rivulet, and this rivulet, by the height and verdure of its banks, makes a fine appearance. Here formerly were a great many houses and cottages, and a great many inhabitants. Here formerly were barracks, but now not the smallest vestiges of any of them remain. Nigh to where they were, on the side that is next to [Easter] Duddingston, a fire engine is erected and is successful."

"At present," he continues, "and for many years past, all the grounds of Brunstane have been applied to pasturage. There are many deer, and these noble creatures thrive well and in good weather afford spectators much pleasure by their feeding and bounding about with their young."



This deer park was leased by the Marquis of Abercorn to Mr John Thomson of Priorletham in 1790, for twelve years, at £233 per annum, and the latter paid £240 for the deer therein, numbering about one hundred head, which he appears to have sold at different times for about three guineas each.* Mr Thomson was at the same time lessee of the coal pits and Duddingston Farm, residing in Easter Duddingston with his family. This, it will be observed, all bears out the fact that Easter Duddingston had previous to this been a much larger and more important village than now.

* MS. account of the Thomsons of Priorletham.

There is no trace now of the Fletcher arms "above the door," but if Mr White is referring to the arms carved over the principal entrance to the house these are not the arms of Fletcher but of Lauderdale and Home combined as previously mentioned.

The mention of "barracks" in Mr White's account is somewhat singular, and is not supported by any other entry in records or elsewhere that we have seen. It is quite likely the Duke of Argyle may have built barracks for the soldiers he raised for the King's service in 1695-96, and made Easter Duddingston a recruiting station.

The reference to "a fire engine" would seem to indicate that a coal pit had during the latter part of last century been in operation in the neighbourhood of the village, though all trace of a pit there has long since disappeared.

Lord Milton is acknowledged to have been a man of great business ability, endowed with good sense and considerable skill in managing men, and though we are told "his conversation was on a limited scale, because his knowledge was very much so"; yet, being possessed of indefensable power at that time in Scotland, and keeping an excellent table, his defects were overlooked, and he was held to be agreeable as he was able."*

He and the Duke of Argyle continued on the most intimate terms of friendship. As coadjutors in the Government they were necessarily brought into contact, but over and above this, the families seem to have had frequent intercourse, visiting each other at Inveraray and Brunstane.

We get pleasing glimpses of the social life of the Fletchers in that interesting but egotistical autobiography of Dr Carlyle, then the minister of Inveresk. He says:—

"I was frequently asked to dine at Carberry by Baron Grant, Chief Commissioner for the Duke of Buccleuch. He had married Lord Milton's eldest daughter, and by that means I became well acquainted with the Fletchers, whom I had not visited before (1753), for their house (Brunstane) was not in my parish, and I was not forward in pushing myself into acquaintance elsewhere without some proper introduction. From that period I became intimate with that family, of which Lord Milton and his youngest daughter, Betty, afterwards Mrs Wedderburn of Gosford were my much valued friends. . . . She was one of the finest females in point of understanding as well as heart that ever fell in my way to be intimately acquainted with. . . . The eldest brother, Andrew, lived for most

* *Carlyle's Autobiography.*

part with the Duke of Argyle at London, as his private secretary, and was M.P. for East Lothian, and though not a man who produced himself in public life, was sufficiently knowing and accomplished to be a very amiable member of society. It was in the end of the year (1757) that I was introduced to Archibald, Duke of Argyle, who usually passed some days at Brunstane as he went to Inverary and returned. It was on his way back to London that I was sent for one Sunday morning to come to Brunstane to dine that day with the Duke. That I could not do, as I had duty to do in my own church in the afternoon, and dinner in those days was at two o'clock. I went up in the evening, when the Duke was taking his nap, as usual, in an elbow chair with a black silk cap over his eyes. There was no company but Lord and Lady Milton, Mr Fletcher, and the young ladies, with William Alston, who was a confidential and political secretary of Milton's. After a little I observed the Duke lift up his cap, and seeing a stranger in the room, he pulled it over his eyes again, and beckoned Miss Fletcher to him, who told him who I was. In a little while he got up, and advancing to me, and taking me by the hand, said he 'was glad to see me, but that between sleeping and waking, he had taken me for his cousin, the Earl of Home, who I still think you resemble.' When we returned to our seats, Mally Fletcher whispered to me that *my bread was baken*, for that Lord Home was one of his greatest favourites. This I laughed at, for the old gentleman had said that as an apology for his having done what he might think not quite polite. . . . Early in the year 1758 my favourite in the House of Brunstane changed her name, for on the 6th of February she was married to Captain John Wedderburn of Gosford, much to the satisfaction of Lord Milton and all her friends, as he was a man of superior character, had then a good fortune and the prospect of a better, which was fulfilled not long afterwards when he succeeded to the title and estate of Pitferran by the name of Sir John Halket. As I was frequently at Brunstane about this time, I became the confidant of both the parties, and the bride was desirous to have me to tie the nuptial knot. But this failed through Lord Milton's love of order, which made him employ the parish minister, Bennet of Duddingston. This she wrote me with much regret on the morning of her marriage, but added, that as on that day she would become mistress of a house of her own, she insisted that I should meet her there, and receive her when she entered the house of Gosford."

Which, doubtless, worthy Dr Carlyle took care to do.

As further showing the close friendship between Argyle and Lord Milton's family, Carlyle mentions that about the middle of October in 1758, being on a holiday tour with Dr Robertson in the Highlands, they went to Inverary by invitation of Lord Milton's family, "who," he says, "were always with the Duke of Argyle, and who generally remained there till the end of the

year. Calling next day at the Duke's house, he was very politely received, not only by the Milton family, but by the Duke and his two cousins."

Carlyle rather prided himself upon his aristocratic friends, and did not allow them to forget him. Some time afterwards, being on a visit to London when the Duke was residing there, he tells us of a visit to his Grace :—

"I went sometimes to the evening parties which were very pleasant. He let in certain friends every night about seven, when, after tea and coffee, there were parties at sixpenny whist, his Grace never playing higher. About nine there was a sideboard of cold victuals and wine, to which everybody resorted in his turn. There was seldom or ever any drinking—never indeed, but when some of his favourite young men came in, such as Alexander Lord Eglinton, William Lord Home, etc., when the old gentleman would rouse himself, and call for burgundy and champagne, and prolong the feast to a late hour. In general the company parted at eleven. There could not be a more rational way of passing the evening, for the Duke had a wide range of knowledge, and was very open and communicative. He had a great collection of stories which he told so neatly and so frequently repeated without variation, as to make one believe he had written them down."

The Duke, it seems, preferred to come to Brunstane, when in Edinburgh, rather than occupy his lodging in Holyrood Abbey, as he did not care to be troubled with too many visitors.

Archibald, third Duke of Argyle, died in the spring of 1761, and his death was a great blow to his old coadjutor and friend, Lord Justice-Clerk Milton. He gave up his appointments, and his mental powers failing him, he was very much of an invalid for the next few years. He died at Brunstane House on 13th December 1766. With the death of these two men practically closes the history of Brunstane House, for it became after this a subordinate part of the more extensive and important estate of Duddingston, which in 1745 was purchased by the Earl of Abercorn.

For many years Brunstane House retained much of its old dignity as a country residence. Down to the year 1808 it was occupied by Sir George Stewart of Grandtully, Bart., and on his giving up the lease, Peter Halkerston, S.S.C., the agent for the proprietor, in an advertisement in the *Edinburgh Courant* of 6th February of that year, breaks forth into a glowing eulogium of its merits. "It is impossible," he says, "sufficiently to describe the

delightful situation and accommodation of this splendid building, and the air being generally very pure, it may with propriety be termed the Montpelier of Scotland. The comfort of the house aided by the agreeable walks, the nearness to the sea and the hot and cold water baths at Portobello, the many opportunities every day of travelling to Edinburgh and other parts adjacent by the great London road, are recommendations of high consideration." Some allowance will, of course, be made by our readers for honest Peter Halkerston's desire to do his best for his client, and to get the old house let. Since then it has been tenanted by many different families. It is still in excellent preservation, and is now occupied by Mr William Park as a farmhouse.

THE ABERCORN FAMILY.

The Barony of Easter and Wester Duddingston became the property of James, the eighth Earl of Abercorn by purchase from Archibald, third Duke of Argyle in 1745. The Hamiltons of Abercorn are an old Scottish family ; descended from Lord Claude Hamilton, third son of James, Earl of Arran and Duke of Chatelherault, but their connection with Scotland had for many years been merely nominal.

The acquisition of the Lordship of Paisley Abbey from James VI. in 1585, was followed in 1606 by the appointment of Lord Claude's son, James Hamilton, to be first Earl of Abercorn with a grant of the lands of Auchendrane. This was, however, revoked shortly afterwards. The rebellion in Ireland, and the flight of the two rebel chiefs, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, put at the disposal of James the Sixth's Government an immense tract of land in Ulster (no less than 300,000 acres being thus forfeited in 1609) which was parcelled out to English and Scottish settlers "in feu ferm for ever," and "at very mean rents."

The Earl of Abercorn being a prominent courtier, obtained one of the largest grants, and settled in 1611 in the neighbourhood of Strabane, where, we are told in the *Calendar of Carew Papers*, "he was chief undertaker in the precinct of the County of Tyrone." Temporary wooden houses served for a time his followers and him, who were all "Scottismen," until the "material for building a fair castle" had been got together. This was the beginning of the palatial residence of "Baron's Court," which became the principal seat of the Earls of Abercorn.

James, the eighth Earl, when he succeeded his father in 1744 to the Scottish titles had actually no estate in Scotland; the lands of his ancestors in this country having gone to the female branches.

The acquisition of Duddingston estate in the following year gave him once more a vested interest in the country, and being near to the capital he formed the idea of converting it into a residential place. Hitherto the farms upon it were small and as a rule they were badly fenced and ill-drained, while the steadings and farm houses were falling into ruins. The Earl set about to rectify this. The farms were enlarged by throwing several into one, roads were made and hedges planted, with here and there clumps of trees to diversify what was a comparatively bare moorland district. In 1746 he introduced the system of lease; the general tenure being nineteen years.

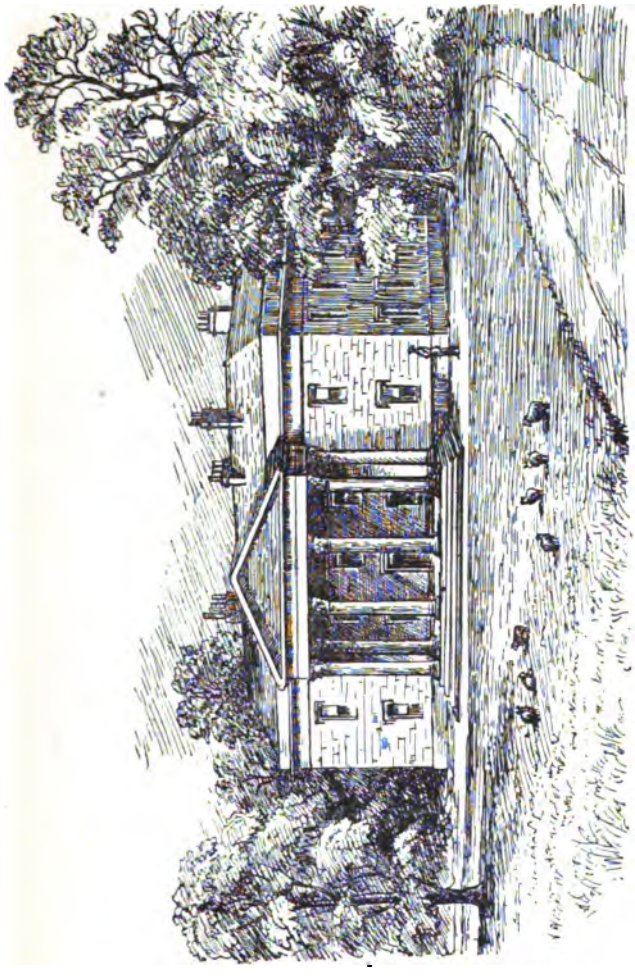
From Sir Henry Stewart's *Planters' Guide* we learn that in 1750 Mr James Robertson was sent down to Scotland to lay out the grounds. This task he "performed with credit to himself, exhibiting all the faults and the excellencies of his master."

A large park or policy of about 200 acres surrounding the houses was fenced off for pleasure grounds, in which artificial lakes, cascades, grottos, temples, and statues formed a principal feature. What had formerly been open fields and moorland where Prince Charles Edward camped his Highland followers a few years before was now converted into green lawns and wooded glades. The wilderness was turned into a garden. In the words of one who must have known the place well under both conditions —"The beautiful variety of the ground, the happy position of clumps and groves, the striking diversity of the water embellishments, canals, lakes, isles, and cascades, and above all the grandeur and beauty of the surrounding scenery and prospect, independently of the magnificent form and architecture of the house itself, must ever render the place singularly picturesque, elegant, and attractive."*

Within the policy and skirting its inside bounds, the Earl formed a roadway, which was his favourite drive. It crossed the burn at various points, and some of the bridges still remain though the roadway has long since been covered with grass and now forms a part of the park.

* *Old Statistical Account.*

In 1763, soon after these improvements were effected, the Earl began to build a mansion for himself near to Wester Duddingston, from plans by Sir William Chambers, the architect of Somerset House, in the Strand, London.



DUDDINGSTON HOUSE.

The house and offices, which were built after the classical style, with a handsome portico, supported by elegant Corinthian pillars, were finished in 1768, at a cost of £30,000.

The Earl of Abercorn added to his Scottish property about 1761 by the purchase of the paternal inheritance of his ancestors, the Lordship of Paisley, from the Earl of Dundonald ; and in 1767 he further added to his Duddingston Estate by the purchase of the Barony of Brunstane from the heirs of Lord Milton. The Lands of Figgate were not, however, included in this addition, these having four years previously been sold to Baron Muir of Caldwell, from whom they afterwards passed to Mr William Jamieson, commonly called the "Father of Portobello."

The new mansion and grounds appear to have been a favourite resort of his Lordship. In those days a nobleman's country residence was not so accessible as now to the English capital, and a journey to and from London must have been a matter of considerable expense even with his own conveyances. The Earl is frequently mentioned in the prints of the time as performing the journey in this way. Thus in the *Evening Courant* of 11th June 1787 we find :—"On Wednesday last the Right Hon. the Earl of Abercorn arrived at Duddingston from London for the summer ; his Lordship travels in the old English style with his own coach and six, attended by his domestics."

It was while on one of these journeys from Duddingston to London he took suddenly ill and died, 9th October 1789, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was buried in Paisley Abbey, and Sir Henry Stewart gives us the following reminiscences of him :—

"The Earl was looked upon as one of the best bred men of his time, though pompous and precise. It was said he made the tour of Europe in a posture so erect as never once to touch the back of his carriage. He was a liberal patron of the fine arts, and among the first to introduce landscape gardening into Scotland. Being on intimate terms with the King he had acquired a good deal of Court formality, and one of his maxims was that no one in point of good manners should contradict His Majesty. It so happened that George III. rode out one day from Windsor with a pretty numerous party, and sent forward a message to Lord Abercorn, as he sometimes did, to intimate that the Royal party were coming on to breakfast with him. As it was difficult to take so methodical a nobleman unawares, the party were received in a high style of etiquette and splendour, and they subsequently spent some hours viewing the fine park and grounds. A few days

after, when Lord Abercorn appeared at Court, His Majesty addressed him in his usual familiar way—'Lord Abercorn, ha! Lord Abercorn, we were rather a more numerous party the other morning than you perhaps looked for, and I fear, we put you to a great deal of trouble.' To which his Lordship replied with one of his best obeisances—'A great deal of trouble may it please your Majesty.' Both the King and the bystanders were much amused, and His Majesty used often afterwards to tell the story with great glee." *

Having never been married, he was succeeded by his nephew, John James Hamilton, who the following year was advanced to the dignity of Marquis of Abercorn. In 1805 a further mark of Royal favour was conferred on him by his being installed a Knight of the Garter.

The Marquis used to travel like his uncle from place to place with a great retinue of servants; and Sir W. Scott mentions meeting a cavalcade of no less than five carriages travelling into Scotland from Carlisle in the year 1813 with his Lordship following up on horseback.

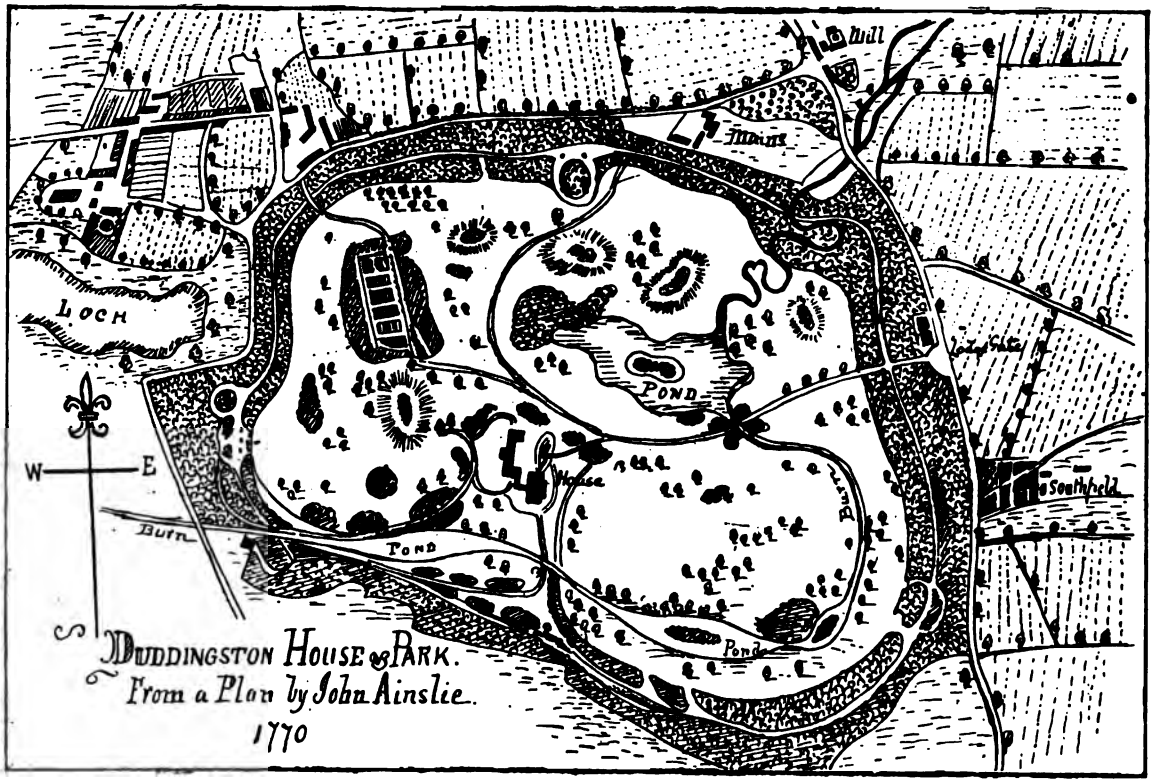
The Marquis was three times married, but from the time of his second marriage in 1792 to his cousin, Lady Cecil Hamilton, which ended unhappily, he seems to have occupied Duddingston House very seldom. Indeed from that time to the present day there is no record of any of the family making it their residence.

For many years it has been let to strangers. The beautiful pleasure grounds laid out by the eighth Earl have been long neglected. The artificial ponds which added so much to the picturesqueness of the park have been dried up. The cascades formed by the Figgate Burn have been swept away. Much of the splendid timber has been cut down, and nearly all the grottos and summer houses have disappeared.

In connection with the work of depletion, it is somewhat interesting to know that in 1788 when the Bridge of Ayr was being built, which Robert Burns has immortalised in "The Brigs o' Ayr," several statues of heathen divinities were set up in niches between the arches which were brought from Duddingston Park at a cost of £300.†

Notwithstanding these evidences of neglect, the park presents even yet many features of attraction, not the least of which is

**Planter's Guide.* †*Note to Burns' Poems*, Blackie's Edition, Vol. I.; p. 78.


Mill
Mount
LOCH
POND
W
E
House
Burn
Pond
Pond
Southfield
DUDDINGSTON HOUSE & PARK.
From a Plan by John Ainslie.
1770

that it is now laid out for the game of golf, being rented for the purpose by the Edinburgh Insurance and Bankers' Golf Club.

Among those who have made Duddingston House their temporary residence mention may be made of Francis, Earl of Moira, a veteran of the American War, who in 1803 was Commander-in-Chief in Scotland. Here he married Flora Mina Campbell, Countess of Loudon, who, it is said, was the first lady north of the Tweed to introduce those laconic invitation cards now so common, and the concise style of which—"The Countess of Loudon and Moira at home"—so puzzled the Edinburgh folk to whom they were issued. One of these "at homes" is thus noticed:—14th June 1805—"On Friday evening the Countess of Loudon and Moira gave a grand fête at Duddingston House to receive three hundred of the nobility and gentry in and about the city, among whom were the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Errol, Earl of Dalhousie, &c., &c., and a great number of naval and military gentlemen, most of the judges, &c. The saloon was brilliantly fitted up with festoons and flowers, and embellished with a naval pillar on which were the names of Howe, Duncan, St Vincent, and Nelson." *

Lord Moira and his brilliant Countess were highly popular during their residence at Duddingston, for while the latter was hospitable to the last degree, his Lordship gave a great impulse to the volunteer movement at the beginning of the century by numerous sham battles and sieges in and about Craigmillar and Duddingston. "Edinburgh," says Lockhart, "was converted into a camp; independently of a large garrison of regular troops nearly 10,000 fencibles and volunteers were almost constantly under arms. The lawyer wore his uniform under his gown, the shopkeeper measured out his wares in scarlet; in short the citizens of all classes made more use for several months of the military than of any other dress, and the new Commander-in-Chief consulted equally his own gratification and theirs by devising a succession of manœuvres which presented a vivid image of the art of war conducted on a large and scientific scale." †

Sir Walter Scott, who knew him well, "regretted the foibles which mingled with his character, so as to make his noble qualities sometimes questionable, sometimes ridiculous." "He had a high reputation for war, but it was after the pettifogging hostili-

*Edinburgh Evening Courant. †Life of Scott.

ties in America, where he had done some clever things." "Poor old Honour and Glory, he was a man of very considerable talents, but had an overmastering degree of vanity of the grossest kind. It follows, of course," continues Sir Walter, "that he was gullible. In fact the propensity was like a ring in his nose, into which any rogue might put a string." He died in 1826.

In more recent years Duddingston House has been occupied by General Campbell, Walter Little Gilmour of Craigmillar (who died there April 1806), Sir John Hay and his son Sir Adam Hay, the Dowager Countess of Morton, Sir Molyneux Nepean, and Lord Lee. The present (1898) occupant is General H. A. Cockburn, late of the East Indian service.

The old Barony of Duddingston has within the past twenty years been much curtailed. In 1874 Brunstane House and a large portion of the Easter Duddingston lands were sold by the Duke of Abercorn to the Benhar Coal Company for about £150,000, with a view to working the minerals. A considerable part has since been feued and forms part of the burgh of Portobello.

In 1890 the Benhar Coal Company, having got into difficulties through fires and flooding of their pits at Niddrie, were forced to go into liquidation, and again the estates of Easter Duddingston and Brunstane changed hands. The portion feued to the east of Portobello and Joppa belongs to the Trustees of the Church of Scotland, while the landward part, consisting of now only 486 acres, with the minerals, was sold by public roup in 1891 for £67,350 to Sir James Miller of Manderston.

The Duke of Abercorn is, however, still proprietor of Duddingston House and policy, with the farms of Southfield, Middlefield, and Northfield, adjoining Wester Duddingston.



OLD BRIDGE NEAR BRUNSTANE.

CHAPTER VII.

PRIESTFIELD OR PRESTONFIELD.

EARLY OWNERS—THE MONKS OF HAREHOPE—THE FAMILIES OF WARDLAW, CHEPMAN, CANT, AND HAMILTON.

AMONG the many old mansions in the vicinity of the Scottish Metropolis, it would be difficult to find one whose situation commands so much of the romantic and picturesque as Prestonfield.

The house, which is in close proximity to Duddingston Loch, beautifully surrounded with lawns and parks at the base of Arthur Seat, is a large and commodious building in the Scottish domestic style of architecture. It originally consisted of two wings and a centre front, five stories high including sunk flat and attics, with a quadrangular courtyard ; but alterations have been made upon it from time to time, including the addition of some handsome apartments at the east side, the building up of the courtyard, which now forms the entrance hall, and the erection of a large projecting porch over the doorway.

While the house internally is furnished with all that art and taste can desire, externally it commands whatever in nature is calculated to inspire the artist or the poet. On the one hand we have the purple cliffs and crags of Arthur Seat raising their bold front against the northern sky ; to the east is the Loch fringed with its deep expanse of reeds and rushes, its groups of willows, its swans, coots, and other water fowl, the Village and Church of Duddingston bounding its eastern side ; while away to the south and west the blue Lammermoor and Pentland Hills shut in the distant horizon. It is a picture of Arcadia ; and within this pleasant retreat one finds it difficult to realise he is within a few minutes' walk of a busy city with its crowded streets and bustling shops and works. The old name of the place was Priestfield, and as such we find it referred to as forming part of the property of the Cistercian Monastery of Harehope or Holm Cultram, as early as the thirteenth century. In all probability its

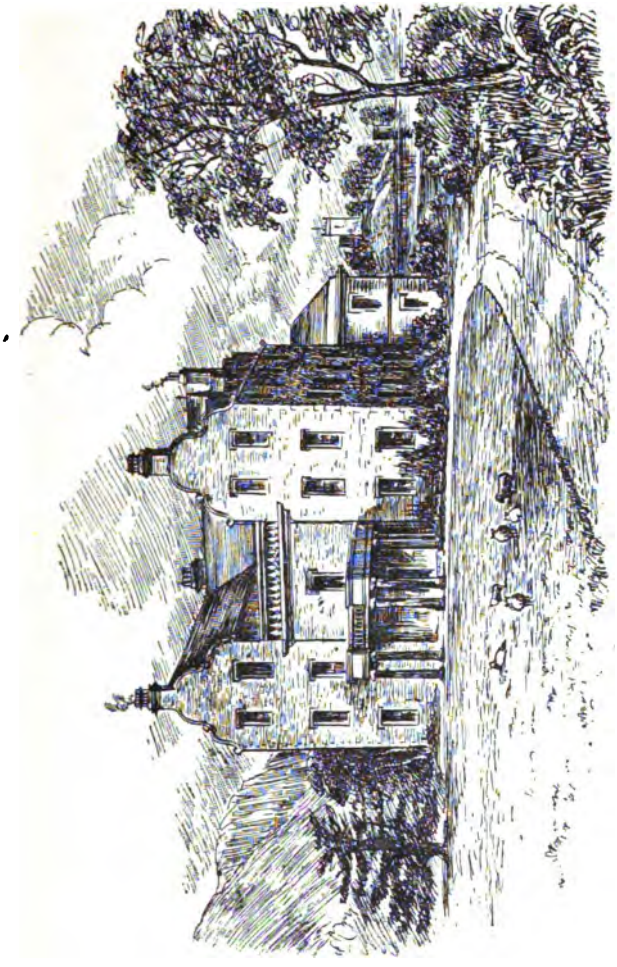
appropriation for ecclesiastical purposes suggested the name. But it was not the only property in the neighbourhood which had early fallen into the hands of the Churchmen.

Harehope or Holm Cultram was an English Settlement of Cistercian Monks, founded in the year 1150 by Henry, Earl of Huntington, son of the Scotch King, David I. The Monastery, situated about twelve miles from Carlisle in Cumberland, was liberally endowed with gifts of lands both in England and Scotland by David and his son Henry, its first charter of foundation being successively confirmed by David, Malcolm IV., and William the Lion. Among the lands in Scotland gifted to them was a considerable stretch of country lying to the South of Edinburgh, from Duddingston westward, including Priestfield, and the ridge upon which the Grange and Morningside suburbs of Edinburgh are now built. Till the end of the thirteenth century the Scotch possessions of Harehope were safe, and the rights of the Monks respected. But the hitherto friendly relationship of the two Kingdoms was rudely broken after the untimely death of Alexander III., for the aspirations of Baliol and Bruce to the throne, and the subsequent war of independence, destroyed for several generations anything like cordiality of intercourse. The Monks of Harehope suffered with the rest. In one of the Scotch invasions of Cumberland the Monastery only escaped destruction out of respect for the memory of Robert, Earl of Carrick, father of King Robert the Bruce, whose remains were buried within its walls; but notwithstanding this clemency the Monastery was despoiled of much of its property in Scotland. In the rolls of Robert II. mention is made of the fact that the Monks of Harehope for adhesion to the English interest and treason against the Scottish King were forfeited; "and the lands of Priestfield, the Grange near Edinburgh, and Spittleton, belonging to them, were given to John, Lord Kyle, Earl of Carrick, the King's son."* This was in 1376, in the sixth year of Robert II.'s reign. Since that time—over 500 years—Priestfield has belonged to several families of note, each distinguished in the annals of the country; and at intervals it has presented us with individuals of outstanding prominence and interest. The Earl of Carrick seems to have immediately disposed of the forfeited properties to Andrew Wardlaw "of Ricardiston and Warnyston," for in the reign

* See Keith's *Religious Houses* and Dudgale's *Monasticon Anglicanum.*

of Robert III. (1390-1406) a charter of that King confirms these lands to his widow—Marion Wardlaw—and to his son, Andrew.

The Wardlaws were a powerful, wealthy Scotch family, both in Church and State exercising in those days a leading influence.



PRESTONFIELD HOUSE.

They were Superiors of the estates of Riccarton, Warriston, Spittleton (probably identified with the Hospital of St Roque), the Grange (or farm of the Church of St Giles), and Priestfield. An uncle of this Andrew Wardlaw was the celebrated Cardinal

Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow in 1368-89. He was for some years previous Archdeacon of Lothian, and held the post of Secretary to King David II. His name appears frequently in charters and other documents of the period. In all likelihood his close intimacy with the King and his influence over him had something to do with the acquisitions of the nephew. Be that as it may, the family continued to be Superiors of the lands of Priestfield down to the year 1509.

By whom the house was originally built we cannot say. On this point documents and tradition are alike silent. In all probability it was only a square tower or keep such as may still be seen in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, with no pretensions to architectural effect. The grounds surrounding the tower were enclosed at an early period with a wall, separating them from Arthur Seat and the Royal park on the one side, and the Burgh Moor on the other. It is said the existing park wall at St Leonard's is the original wall, having stood for about four hundred years. In 1509 the superiority of the lands of Priestfield was purchased from James Wardlaw of Ricarrton by Walter Chepman, printer to James IV., and celebrated as the first printer of books in Scotland. As the charter shows, he acquired it along with the lands of Ewerland at Cramond, as feudatory of the King, on the nominal condition of delivery of a pair of gloves on St Giles' day.



CHEPMAN ARMS.

(From St Giles' Church.)

At his death in 1529 his son and heir, David Chepman, conveyed to and in favour of his mother, Agnes Cockburn, all his father's estate "moveable and heritable," of which she was to have the liferent.

David appears to have died a year or two afterwards, for the superiority of the lands of Priestfield were in 1532 infeft to her nephew, John Chepman. The actual possessors of Priestfield were thus neither the Wardlaws nor the Chepmans, as has been erroneously stated by several writers. The early owners of the property were a family of the name of Cant, burgesses of Edinburgh, who date their possession from 1463, when one Adam Cant, received sasine of Priestfield from the Superior, John Wardlaw of Riccarton, followed by another to Adam Cant, described as "eldest son of Henry Cant, of Brownfield," 30 Jany. 1486. This Henry Cant, who represented Edinburgh in the Scottish Parliament from 1473 till 1493, is named as proprietor of the Grange as well as of Priestfield, and it is curious to note that the name of this old family is still perpetuated in "Cant's Close," Edinburgh, where they had their town residence.

Priestfield passed from the Cants in 1519. In that year we find Henry Cant (presumably a son of the Member of Parliament) bound himself that so soon as he obtained sasine of the property he would "in consideration of a sum of money" infeft Mr Thomas Hamilton therein. This Thomas Hamilton was married to Margaret Cant, Henry's aunt, and became the ancestor of the Earls of Haddington. It was not till 1523 that Hamilton acquired complete right to the estate. In the interval he evidently had purchased Orchardfield, a small property near the West Port, as in the contract between himself, Henry Cant and Agnes Tod, widow of the late Adam Cant, dated September 1522, he is designated "Mr Thomas Hamilton of Orchardfield." In this document it is stated that the widow having married John Preston, she, with his consent, renounced her rights over Priestfield, and also over the property in Cant's Close. A few months later Henry Cant resigned Priestfield into the hands of his overlord, Walter Chepman, who in June 1523 personally gave sasine of the lands to Hamilton. Of his ancestry and personal history some particulars are furnished in Sir William Fraser's *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington* which will be found of interest.

Thomas Hamilton, an advocate and burgess of Edinburgh, is stated to have been a son of Hugh Hamilton of Innerwick, and was related to the branch of the Hamiltons who in the time of James V. and VI. ruled Scotland. He had various other properties, and had a lease of the lands of "Drummany" or Dalmeny,

which afterwards became the property of his family. At his death in 1537 he was succeeded in his estates by his eldest son Thomas, a merchant in the West Bow of Edinburgh. In 1540 he and his brother George were admitted to be burgesses and members of the Guild of Edinburgh, paying 20s for the privilege. Thomas was twice married, and on his death, which occurred at the battle of Pinkie, 10th September 1547, he left issue two sons, Thomas and John, both of whom were at the time under age. The story of the latter is somewhat eventful; becoming a secular priest of the Church of Rome, and distinguishing himself by his zeal on its behalf, he appears to have entered as a student at St Andrews about the year 1555, and took the degree of M.A. in 1559. In that year he was appointed one of the regents of St Mary's College, where he taught philosophy. In 1574, after the Reformation, he acted as an elder of the Kirk Session of St Andrews parish, but in 1576 he left the country, and forsaking the reformed religion, he became tutor to the Cardinal de Bourbon, and afterwards rose to the dignity of Cardinal.

In 1584 John Hamilton was chosen Rector of the University of Paris, and was one of the most zealous partisans of the Catholic League when in 1590 Henry IV. besieged that city. His chief act of fanaticism, however, was his permitting the death of Brisson, the President of the Parliament of Paris, a man distinguished as a writer, who was murdered and had his body insulted by a furious populace. Hamilton even after King Henry had declared his conversion to the Catholic faith, endeavoured on the very day of the King's entry into Paris to expel him by force of arms, but the attempt failed. Hamilton was arrested, but was allowed to escape to Brussels.

Returning to Scotland in 1600 on a mission from Pope Clement the Eighth to warn all who professed the Roman faith not to admit any man to be king unless he bound himself by oath to uphold their religion, John Hamilton soon found himself in trouble, and under various disguises was forced to skulk and hide from the Government officials. His first refuge is said to have been the house in the Cowgate occupied by the President of the College of Justice, Alexander Seaton, Lord Fyvie. Witnesses were examined before the Privy Council who deponed to Hamilton's being there secreted in a chamber, and celebrating mass. He was described as a little man, red faced, and above fifty years of age, but the

evidence given being somewhat contradictory, no further proceedings were taken against him. After that he was heard of in Fife and Dumfries celebrating mass and baptising children. £1000 Scots were set upon his head, but through the influence it is supposed of his nephew, Sir Thomas Hamilton of Drumcairn, then Lord Advocate, he eluded capture until 1609. He was seized in that year by a party of the King's Guards, or as they were sometimes styled—"Ministers of Satan," and conveyed to London, where he was imprisoned in the Tower, where he died the following year.

The elder brother, Thomas, who succeeded his father in the estates, though only a boy at the time, was in 1549 served heir to Balnabein and Drumcairn in Perthshire, Priestsgill in the Barony of Avondale, Lanarkshire, and the church lands of Dalmeny in Linlithgow. As to his lands of Priestfield, "It is doubtful," says Sir William Fraser, "if he then entered into full possession of them, as it was not until February 1564 that he received from Agnes Cockburn, widow of Walter Chepman, a precept for infefting him in these lands as heir to his grandfather, the late Mr Thomas Hamilton, who was the last to receive sasine therein." During his minority he was under curators, one of them being James Heriot of Trabroun, whose daughter Elizabeth he married in 1558. Educated at St Andrews, where he took the degree of M.A., he pursued his studies in law at Paris, and returned to Scotland in 1571.

The capital was then divided into factions, Queen Mary being a prisoner in England, and her son a minor, and nominally king under the Scotch nobles. Civil war of the worst kind divided families and friends. The Hamiltons declared for the Queen's party, and loyally supported her claims to be restored to her crown and kingdom. Their opponents, backed by all the influence of England's Queen, were, however, too strong for them, and in 1572 Hamilton of Priestfield was included in a proclamation of outlawry directed by the "King's party" against the Earl of Arran and the other principal members of the family. While he was under the sentence of outlawry, Hamilton's lands of Priestfield were bestowed upon Andrew Murray, younger of Arngask. The estate was, however, restored to its rightful owner a few years afterwards.*

* See Appendix—*Laing Charters.*

"In 1579, when the advisers of the young king, James VI., who had then assumed the Government, proceeded against the chiefs of the Hamiltons, charging them with implication in the murder of Darnley, and destroyed their castles and goods, Hamilton of Priestfield shared their fate so far that he was included in the summons requiring them to appear before the Council, but he appeared and offered security of 1000 merks that he would obey the Government, James Heriot of Trabroun being his cautioner."* Six years later, in 1585, when the Hamiltons and other "banished lords" returned from England and were restored to favour, Thomas Hamilton was named in the Act of Parliament which rescinded all forfeitures and restored them to their respective estates.

He is said to have been knighted in the year 1597. He is also named a year or two later in the title deeds of a property acquired by his son, the Lord Advocate. The lands in question adjoined Priestfield, and are described as a portion of the common "myre" or moor of the burgh of Edinburgh, bordering on the Loch of Duddingston, and extending originally to fifty-two acres. They are frequently referred to in the older charters of Kelso Abbey, the monks having a servitude over them and the privilege of taking peats from the same; while the tenants of Duddingston had held the use of the common for years. On the breaking up of the Abbey, and the forfeiture of its revenues to the Crown, the latter claimed as representing the Abbey to still exercise the Abbey's rights over the common. We have this fact brought out in a letter addressed by James V. to the Town Council of Edinburgh, dated at Falkland, 11th July 1536, desiring them to comply to the request of George Steill, his "dailie and familiar servitour," who wished to feu the lands from the burgh. The King reminded the town that they had already feued to others parts of their common or burgh moor. Further he says:—"Ye know our Abbey of Kelso has clamit and pleyit the richt thairof with you this long tyme bipast, and thair tenentis of Duddingstoun has kepit and defendit thair use and possessioun of the said common myre past memorie of man; and sen we haf now the rewling and giding of the lands and possessiouns of our said Abbey, it is our part to defend the same." Nevertheless he was content to remit such possession in favour of his servitor and to

* *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, Vol. I., Page 20.

agree to the town giving a feu of the land. So urgent was the King in behalf of Steel that to the letter now cited he added a postscript with his own hand, addressed to the Provost, then Robert fifth Lord Maxwell, thus, "Prowest, I pry you help hym, and I sall help agan." *

This appeal resulted in two charters being granted, in which it was stated that whereas the town's lands near the Loch of Duddingston, or rather their marsh, commonly called the "common myre," had been of little value to them in time past, but had been pastured by strangers and inhabitants of the adjoining lands, therefore the community feued the same, extending to fifty-two acres to George Steel and Christian Wilson, his wife, for a feu-duty of £13 Scots yearly.

This now forms a part of the Priestfield property; one half of it coming into the hands of Thomas Hamilton in 1599, and the other half being acquired in 1618 by his distinguished son. That Thomas Hamilton held a prominent position is evident from the fact that on the removal of the Scottish Court to London in 1603 he was appointed to the Commission for managing the Queen's property in Scotland, and as a further mark of Royal favour he was in 1607 raised to the Bench as a Lord of Session. On this occasion, Lord Advocate Hamilton, his son, wrote to King James thanking him for the honour conferred, which he says "gave Priestfield occasion to bestow on your Majestie's service, the rest of that lyfe, whilk according to the maist bundin dutie, has ever bene dedicated by him to that end." He accepted the promotion as a reward on the King's part for the "yeiris, guddis, and bloude faithfullie spent" by his father in the service of the King's mother, which, says Sir William Fraser, "probably refers to the fact that the Hamiltons were generally of Queen Mary's party." Lord Priestfield did not, however, hold office long, as a year later his second son, Andrew Hamilton of Redhouse, succeeded in his stead, but he was a member of the Privy Council till 1610, when, by special order of the King, the Council was reconstructed and limited to thirty-five members.

He was twice married, first to Elizabeth Heriot, who was the mother of his eldest son, the famous lawyer and statesmen; and second to Elizabeth Murray, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. The sons were all famous men in their day.

* Letter in the possession of Sir William Dick-Cunyngham, Bart.

1. The eldest, as we have said, was the famous Thomas Hamilton, Lord Advocate and first Earl of Haddington, of whom we shall have more to say afterwards.

2. Sir Andrew Hamilton of Redhouse was appointed a Lord of Session in 1608. He died in 1634. After several generations a descendant of his, Captain Thomas Hamilton, joined the army of Prince Charles Edward in 1745, in which he held a colonel's commission. He was taken prisoner and executed, and his property forfeited.

3. Sir John Hamilton of Magdalins in Linlithgowshire was also a Senator of the College of Justice from 1622 till 1626. He held the office of Lord Clerk Register and was a Privy Councillor, in which capacity he attended the funeral of James the Sixth in May 1625. He died at Holyrood House, and was buried in the Abbey.

4. Sir Patrick Hamilton of Little Preston. He was for some time Under Secretary of State to his eldest brother, and resided chiefly in London. From him the present Lord Polwarth is descended through his second daughter, Margaret, who married Sir Gideon Scott of Highchester. The male branch is now represented by the present Earl of Stair.

5. Colonel Alexander Hamilton was a celebrated soldier in his day. He entered the army, and is styled "Sergeant-Major," in 1624, when he received an appointment from James VI. as captain of 250 men who were levied in London for foreign service. Having been despatched, with the Marquis of Hamilton, to Sweden by order of Charles I. to assist Gustavus Adolphus in his expedition against Germany, we find that in 1629 a special agreement was made with him by which he was to receive a Colonel's Commission to command 1200 men, and a sum of £1696 sterling for levying a regiment.

"The expedition was, however, beset with difficulties from the first; famine and disease decimated the troops, and though a few successes were achieved, these were not sufficient to redeem the enterprise from failure. Colonel Hamilton served with the Marquis at the siege of Madgeburg, and was afterwards placed in command of the Scotch regiments, under the orders of William Duke of Saxe-Weimar." *

It was while serving in the Swedish service that Colonel Hamilton acquired that knowledge of artillery which afterwards

*Memorials of the Earls of Haddington.

proved useful at an important period of his country's history. The troops under his command included an artillery company, and for a time indeed he had much to do with the manufacture of small ordnance. He returned to Great Britain in 1634 or 1635 after holding the appointment of Commander of the important fortress of Hanau in Westphalia. It is said his recall was due to an order from Charles I., who bestowed on him for his services as an artillery officer a pension or salary of £800 a year. This income, however, he did not long enjoy, as, owing to the troubles of the times, payment was interrupted about the year 1637. In the following year he was in Scotland, and there took the side of the Covenanters in their resistance to the Church policy of King Charles.

In September 1638 the Colonel was desired by the King to go to London, in order, it was supposed, that he might make artillery to be used against the Covenanters. But as he would not go on any such errand the matter was not pressed. His kinsman, the Marquis of Hamilton, wrote to the King that Hamilton was "terrabill zealous," but thoroughly honest and loyal. He was sure that no invention of his should ever be used to the King's disadvantage, though he were afraid if a breach should come, the Colonel "might dou mischife."* This prognostication was so far fulfilled in the following year when Colonel Hamilton took a prominent part in the warlike preparations in Scotland. "He was appointed to the office of General of Artillery, and at once took charge of the manufacture and supply of ordnance and ammunition. He accompanied his old comrade, General Alexander Leslie, when the latter, on 21st March 1639, demanded possession of Edinburgh Castle, and when the demand was refused probably took part in the composition and application of the petard which blew up the gate and compelled its surrender."† Under his direction, too, the Castle was repaired and strengthened, while Leith was strongly fortified in the most approved manner. In these operations the Covenanters, including all ranks and classes, gave willing assistance.

Besides his skill in fortification, Colonel Hamilton also placed his knowledge of artillery at the service of the Covenanters. Thus we are told that when in March and April 1639 the Earl of Mon-

* *Hamilton Papers*, P. 35.

† *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, P. 30.

trose marched northward on an expedition against the Marquis of Huntly, his force bore along with them light field pieces of three feet long or so under his direction. They are described as being "made of tin for the bore, with a coating of leather, all secured by tight cordage." Having a ribbed and hooped appearance, they were familiarly styled "stoups," and were known as "Dear Sandie's Stoups," in reference to the Colonel, who is said to have cast or made them in the Potterrow, Edinburgh. These or similar light ordnance were for some time afterwards in frequent use by the Scottish army.

During May 1639, when the Marquis of Hamilton, acting under orders from Charles I., lay with an English fleet in the Firth of Forth, Colonel Hamilton with others desired to be "at the trying of their fyreworks on the King's shipps." This was, however, overruled by the Presbyterian leaders, who were anxious to preserve peace between the two kingdoms. In the following year when they had resolved to invade England, the Committee of Estates formally ratified the Commissions which had been granted to General Leslie, Colonel Hamilton, and others, and prepared for hostilities. One of their first acts was the siege of Edinburgh Castle, then held for the King by Patrick Ruthven, Lord Forth. The citizens raised ramparts of earth to defend themselves from the great guns of the Castle. The investment of the fortress was effected by the formation of several batteries at various points—the Greyfriars Churchyard, the West Church or Port, and the "Hardgate," now Princes Street—chosen by Colonel Hamilton, who about this time is styled by his contemporaries "Sir Alexander Hamilton," though when he actually received the rank of knighthood is uncertain. In August of 1640 he was one of the leaders of the Scottish army which crossed the Tweed, and his artillery did good service in the defeat of the English who opposed the passage of the Tyne at Newburn. The year 1641 was memorable in connection with the visit of King Charles to Scotland and the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion, and on the news of the latter being communicated to the Scottish Parliament they offered to send over General Leslie with 10,000 men to suppress the rising. Hamilton accompanied him in the expedition, but both he and Leslie were recalled shortly afterwards by the Committee of Estates to take part in the war between the King and the Parliament of England. Baillie states in 1643, that "General Leslie is

chosen, and Dear Sandie hath accepted the General of Artillerie's place."

In 1648 when it was proposed to send a force to England in aid of King Charles in terms of the "Engagement," Hamilton received from Parliament a renewal of his commission as General of Artillery, and it would appear held a post in the expedition which, under the command of the Duke of Hamilton, sustained defeat at Preston in August of that year.

Sir Alexander Hamilton's family history and connection with the Priestfield estate will fall to be noted further on in our history in its chronological order. Meantime, we must return to Sir Thomas Hamilton, the eldest of the family.

This distinguished man, who afterwards rose to the dignity of Earl of Haddington, was born in 1563. After receiving his education at the High School of Edinburgh, he at the age of eighteen proceeded to France to prosecute his University and legal studies. After a curriculum of six years there he returned to Scotland in 1587, and was shortly afterwards called to the bar at the age of twenty-four. His talents and untiring industry speedily brought him to the front, and in 1592 he was appointed an ordinary Lord of Session, and took his seat on the bench under the title of Lord Drumcairn.

The name of Lord Drumcairn is of frequent occurrence in the public records in connection with the leading events of the beginning of the seventeenth century. He was appointed to the important office of King's Advocate in January 1596, when he was chosen by James to be one of the ministry that went under the nickname of the "Octavians." This office he retained till 1612, when he was appointed Lord Clerk Register, under the title of Sir Thomas Hamilton of Markland, Knight, with the office of Secretary of State. In the following year he was made a peer with the title of Lord Binning and Byres, and in 1619, still holding the



THE MELROSE ARMS.

Secretaryship, was promoted to the Presidency of the Court of Session, under the title of Earl of Melrose.

In 1626, the first year of the reign of Charles I., he resigned his offices of Secretary of State and Lord President, and accepted that of Lord Privy Seal. In 1627 he dropped the title of Earl of Melrose, and had the royal permission to assume instead that of Earl of Haddington, on the ground, it is said, that he considered it more dignified to take his title from a county than from a town.

The Earl, who was equally known for his penetration as a judge, his industry as a collector of decisions, and his talent for amassing wealth, was a favourite and confidant of the King, who, as suited the free and easy custom of those days, was not above visiting and supping with his friends of an evening. The Earl's town house was situated in the Cowgate, on the site, it is said, now occupied by the southern piers of George IV. Bridge, to make room for which it was demolished in 1829; and stories are told illustrative of the friendly terms on which the King and his "trustie counsellor" stood to one another; and how this distinguished person from the circumstance of his living there was dubbed by the Scottish Solomon with the *sobriquet* of "Tam o' the Cowgate," under which title he is now better remembered than by any other.

In 1607 a collier named Sandy Maund had in his walks about the Earl's property of Hilderstone in Linlithgow, chanced to pick up a stone containing veins of a clear metal which proved to be silver. By advice of some one he took it to Sir Bevis Bulmer, then engaged in gold-seeking thereabouts, and the result of further search on the Hilderstone property was that Sir Thomas Hamilton, who was at the time King's Advocate, imagined himself possessor of a silver mine of inestimable value. He got an order of Council, 17th December 1607, authorising the digging out of the silver ore, and a certain quantity was ordered to be shipped to London to be assayed at the Mint. Thirty-eight barrels of ore were actually sent there, and were found to yield about twenty-four ounces of silver for every hundredweight. Experts were placed upon the mine, and mills were erected on the Water of Leith for the melting and fining of the ore. The sagacious owner, we are told, gave the mine the name of *God's Blessing*. By and by the King heard of it, and thinking it improper that any such fountain of wealth should belong to a private person,

purchased *God's Blessing* for £5000, that it might be worked upon a larger scale for the benefit of the public. "But somehow," says Robert Chambers, "from the time it left the hands of the original owner, *God's Blessing* ceased to be anything like so fertile as it had been, and the King withdrew from the enterprise a great loser." The village of Silvermills on the Water of Leith takes its name from being connected with these silver mines.

"Tam o' the Cowgate" had not only the faculty of acquiring wealth but of keeping it when acquired, not always so easy a matter. When King James visited Scotland in 1617 "he found his old favourite very rich, and was informed that the people believed him to be in possession of the Philosopher's Stone, there being no other feasible mode of accounting for his immense wealth, which rather seemed the effect of supernatural agency than of worldly prudence or talent. The King, quite tickled with the idea of the Philosopher's Stone, and of so enviable a talisman having fallen into the hands of a Scottish judge, was not long in letting his friend and gossip know of the story which he had heard respecting him. The Lord President immediately invited his Majesty and the rest of the company present to come to his house next day, when he would both do his best to give them a good dinner and lay open to them the mystery of the Philosopher's Stone. This agreeable invitation was of course accepted, and the next day saw his Cowgate palazzo thronged with King and courtiers, all of whom the President feasted to their heart's content. After dinner the King reminded him of his Philosopher's Stone, and expressed his anxiety to be speedily made acquainted with so rare a treasure, when the pawky Lord addressed his Majesty and the company in a short speech, concluding with this information that his whole secret lay in two simple and familiar maxims—'Never put off till to-morrow what can be done to-day, nor ever trust to another's hand what your own can execute.'" *

It is related of him in one of many anecdotes communicated by Sir Walter Scott to the author of the *Traditions of Edinburgh*, that after a long day's hard labour in the public service, he was one evening seated with a friend over a bottle of wine, near a window of his house in the Cowgate, attired, for his ease, in a *robe de chambre* and slippers, when a sudden disturbance was heard in the

* Chambers' *Traditions of Edinburgh.*

street. This turned out to be a "*bicker*," one of those street disturbances peculiar to the boys of Edinburgh, and referred to in the Burgh Records as far back as 1529 anent "gret bikkyrringis betwixt bairns," and again in 1535, when they were to be repressed, under pain of scourging and banishment. On the occasion referred to, the strife of sticks and stones was between the boys of the High School and the youths of the College, who, notwithstanding a stubborn resistance, were driving the former before them.

The Earl who, in his youth, had been a High School boy, and from his after education in Paris had no sympathy for the young collegians, rushed into the street, rallied the fugitives, and took such an active share in the fight that at last the High School boys—gaining fresh courage upon discovering that their new leader was Tam o' the Cowgate, the great judge and statesman—turned the tide of battle upon the enemy, despite superior age and strength. The Earl, still clad in his robe and slippers, assumed the command, exciting the lads to the charge by word and action. Nor did the hubbub cease till the students, unable by a flank movement to escape up the Candlemaker Row, were driven headlong through the Grassmarket and out at the West Port, the gate of which he locked, compelling the vanquished to spend the night in the fields beyond the city walls. He then returned to finish his flask of wine in peace. No doubt King James when he heard of the story at Windsor, would thoroughly appreciate Tam o' the Cowgate's rough-and-ready method of clearing the causeway.

But the bickerings and riots were not confined to the boys of that time. The times were wild. "Treasons, murders, burnings, thefts, reifs, harryings, houghing of cattle, breaking of mills, destruction of growing corn, and barbarities of all sorts were committed in all parts of the country, no place nor person being exempt. In Edinburgh itself, butcherly revenge and daily fights occurred, the Parish Churches and churchyards being more frequented upon Sunday for advantages of neighbourly malice and mischief than for God's service; noblemen, barons, gentlemen, and people of all sorts were slaughtered as it were in public and uncontrollable hostilities, merchants robbed and left for dead in daylight going to their markets and fairs of Montrose, Wigtown, and Berwick, ministers dirked in Stirling, buried alive in Clydesdale, and murdered in Galloway; merchants in Edinburgh were

waylaid in their passage to Leith, to be made prisoners for the sake of ransom." * Such is a picture of the state of the country as drawn by the Earl of Haddington himself in a speech before the Scottish Convention of Estates in 1617, and which the records of the Privy Council abundantly verify. With much energy, and not without ability, King James devoted himself to remedy those abuses in his northern kingdom, and to raise it to a higher state of civilisation. So well did he succeed in this, that Professor Masson, in his Introduction to the *Register of the Privy Council* (Vol. VII.), in referring to the traditional character held of James, expresses the opinion that it requires revision, and that it is impossible from a careful perusal of the records "to think of him as other than a man of a very remarkable measure of political ability and inventiveness, with a tenacity and pertinacity of purpose that could show itself in a savage glitter of the eye whenever he was offended or thwarted, and in a merciless rigour in hunting down and crushing his ascertained opponents."

Another writer, however (J. Hill Burton), while admitting that from the State Papers and other public documents, it is easy to perceive in Scotland the gradual work of the regulating and consolidating influence of a strengthened executive, does not ascribe it wholly to the King, but credits the Earl of Haddington himself with much of the successful result. "The Secretary"—then Lord Binning—"acted," says he, "the part of a civilising and advancing Statesman, and was chiefly instrumental in working out the improvement of the social condition of the country."

It is not our province to detail more of the public life of this remarkable man. He fills a prominent position in the history of the period.

Thomas the first Earl of Haddington, was thrice married—first, in 1588, to Margaret Borthwick, a daughter of James Borthwick of Newbyres. By her he had two daughters. On her death, in 1596, he married (second) Margaret, daughter of James Foulis of Colinton, by whom he had three sons and four daughters. Margaret Foulis died in 1609, and he married his third wife, Dame Julian Ker, widow of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, and daughter of Sir Thomas Ker of Ferniehirst. By her he had one son, Robert Hamilton, but his eldest son Thomas, of the second marriage, born 15th May 1600, succeeded his father as second

* See *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. VII.

Earl in 1637. With him and the line of honourable names who have succeeded in the Earldom our history has no further concern.

The second son, Sir James Hamilton, who was born 29th May 1603, was in 1618 provided for by his father by a gift of the lands of Priestfield and "Common Myre," and was duly infeft. In the following year he received a Royal grant of the spiritualities of the Priory of Haddington, of which he styled himself Commendator. In 1623, before which date he had received the honour of knighthood, Sir James Hamilton was married to Anna Hepburn, eldest daughter of Sir Patrick Hepburn of Waughton. Having been trained to military service, he accompanied his uncle Alexander in the expedition to Sweden, where he entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus, and he appears to have commanded a company in the expedition to Rochelle, for in January 1629 King Charles I. wrote his father in praise of his conduct.

Sir James returned from Sweden in 1631, as we find that in May and June of that year he had a dispute with John Lawson of Humbie as to the erection of an aisle or addition to the Church of Duddingston, which Hamilton proposed to build for the benefit of his tenants of Priestfield, these lands having been disjoined from the parish of St Cuthbert's and annexed to the parish of Duddingston. The matter came before the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and was decided against Lawson, who was ordered to remove a desk or pew belonging to him which interfered with the new erection.

Reference is made elsewhere to the scandal caused by the intimacy of Lady Hamilton with the then parish minister—Robert Monteith—for which the latter had to flee the country. Sir James was a gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles I., and in 1641 narrowly escaped being implicated in the alleged plot against the Marquis of Hamilton. In 1645 he appears to have been at Oxford for a short time, but little is known of his history during the civil war. In 1647 he mortgaged or sold his lands of Priestfield to his uncle, Sir Alexander Hamilton, General of Artillery, and went abroad. His after history is wrapped in some obscurity. He was alive in 1663, but he died between that date and January 1669, when we find his son Sir James was served heir to him in the office of keeper of the park of Holyrood House. By his wife, Anna Hepburn, he had four sons and two daughters —1, Thomas, born 27th March 1627, died in August 1636; 2,

James, born 1628 ; 3, Patrick ; 4, Alexander ; and Margaret and Anna.

James, the second son, succeeded his father. In 1663 he is described as "Sir James Hamilton, younger of Priestfield," and in 1666 he was served heir to his father. He was still alive in 1691, when the keepership of Holyrood Park (of which he had been deprived for refusing the Test) was restored to him and Thomas, sixth Earl of Haddington, Sir James having previously, in lieu of a pension, disposed of this heritable office to Charles, the fifth Earl. But his title to Priestfield must have been a merely nominal one, for Sir Alexander Hamilton—dear uncle Sandy—had entered into possession of it in 1647, and made it his residence on his retirement from military service, at length dying on 26th November 1649, and being buried in the "Priestfield Yle" at Duddingston Church.

Sir Alexander Hamilton, who was thrice married, left only one son and one daughter. The son, named Alexander, was served heir to his father "Alexandri Hamiltoun, Rei Tormentariæ Scotiæ Præfecti," in the lands and Barony of Priestfield, with the loch and fishings in said loch, in which the valuation or feu to the superior was £6.

In 1656 Alexander, the son of the "Generall of Artylzerrie," died, and his sister, Anna Hamilton, was served heir on 18th August 1657, "in the lands and Barony of Priestfield, with the haill loch lyand contigue, and fischings of the samyn, within the bailliarie of Edinburgh, with the teynds and teynd sheaves of the foresaid lands of Priestfield, all unite into the Barony of Priestfield."* According to *Balfour's Annals*, Anna Hamilton was married surreptitiously, without the knowledge or consent of her guardians, to James Murray, eldest son of Sir James Murray of Skirling.

She had one son by her marriage, named Alexander, born 19th January 1662, but the lands were so burdened with debt that they were mortgaged to Sir Robert Murray in satisfaction thereof about 1670.

Sir Robert Murray died towards the end of 1671, and Alexander Murray was served heir to the property on 26th January 1672, which in the titles is thus described, "with the loch lying contiguous to the lands united in the Barony of Priestfield, including

* See *Abbreviated Retours*, Appendix.

the lands of Cameron with the mansion thereof now held by the superior near the Common Moor of Edinburgh, with the half teinds and the right of the patronage of the chapel sacred to the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish of Musselburgh, the land of the Common Marsh or Moor [Maresio] vulgarly called the Common Myre in the freedom of the Burgh of Edinburgh, in feu de fermæ, £13." *

Eventually, the lands of Priestfield passed out of the hands of the Hamiltons and Murrays in 1677, when they were purchased by James Dick, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, afterwards Sir James Dick, who added to the lands and rebuilt the mansion, giving to it its present name of Prestonfield.

* *Abbreviated Retours.*



DUDDINGSTON CHURCH AND LOCH,
WITH CRAIGMILLAR CASTLE IN THE DISTANCE.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRIESTFIELD OR PRESTONFIELD *(continued)*.
THE FAMILIES OF DICK AND DICK-CUNYNGHAM.

FOR fully a hundred years before 1677, when Sir James Dick became owner of Priestfield, his ancestors had figured prominently in the municipal life of the capital, and had acquired considerable wealth as merchants.

Sir William Dick of Braid, merchant and banker, was a well-known character in the histories of the period of James the Sixth, and his name is of frequent occurrence in the Acts of the Scottish Parliament. He took a leading part in the promotion of the fishing industry, and was tacksman of the Excise and Customs Duties on tobacco, wine, and strong waters. He had a tack from the Crown of the Orkney and Shetland Islands for six years, from 1637 to 1643, at a yearly rent of £35,733 6s 8d Scots for the first five years; but on account of the great famine and poverty of the people, who were not able to pay him "thair maills and dewties usen and wont," he was relieved of payment in the sixth year.

As a merchant, he is said to have carried on an extensive and lucrative trade with the Baltic and Mediterranean. He was the Provost of Edinburgh in 1638-39, and represented the city in Parliament. He was honoured with a knighthood, and somewhat later with a baronetcy of Nova Scotia; and though doubt was cast upon the latter title it was claimed by his descendants till 1711, when it was confirmed by a fresh patent granted by Queen Anne.

About this period (1638-44) Sir William is said to have been worth more than £200,000 sterling, and was able to provide lands or money for each of his family. He advanced in loan to the Government 100,000 merks Scots, to defray the expenses attending a visit of King Charles I. to Scotland in 1641, and continued to lend large sums to replenish the National Exchequer, until at Martinmas 1646 the public owed him no less a sum than £533,971 6s 9d Scots money, or £44,497 sterling.

Sir William Dick's case was a sad one, for his riches brought him much misery. Royalists and Covenanters alike considered him good game, and drew upon his purse in their need. In his endeavour to get justice and redress from the English Commonwealth, his ruin was completed by the fines to which he was subjected, amounting in all, it is said, to £65,000. On his representing to the authorities in London the indigence to which these extortions had reduced him, he was treated with callous indifference, and told that he was always able to get pie crust when other men could not get bread, in allusion, no doubt, to the prevalent notion that he possessed some supernatural means of acquiring money. The contrary was shown when the unfortunate man ended his life in prison; but in a proverbial sense "Pie Crust" came to be called "Sir William Dick's necessity."

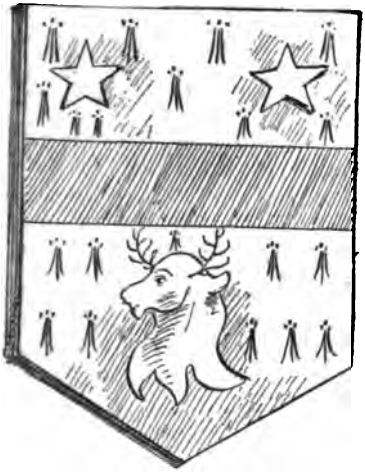
Soon after his death, which occurred at Westminster in December 1655, there was printed *The Lamentable Estate and Distressed Case of the Deceased Sir William Dick in Scotland and his Numerous Family and Creditors for the Commonwealth* (London, 1656, folio), with three prints, exhibiting his sufferings, by R. & W. Vaughan. The first represents Sir William on horseback at the head of a company of foot soldiers in 1640, apparently engaged in the siege of a fortified place, or probably as Lord Provost of Edinburgh, attended by guards, superintending the unloading of one of his vessels at Leith; the second shows him a prisoner for debt, seated in chains, with several members of his family surrounding him, the women and children in tears; the third gives a view of his dead body lying in a coffin.

The fickleness of fortune surely never, except in the case of Job, found so striking an illustration. The petition of his family states that his body remained unburied for six months, and that his children and grandchildren, fifty in number, had only been saved from starvation by the goodness of the Lord Protector in granting them some small help.

From an interesting notice of Mr David Marshall in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquities of Scotland for 1889 (Volume xxiii.) we find that "Dowdeswell's copy of this excessively rare tract was sold for £52 10s; Dent's for £26 5s; Sir P. Thomson's for £28 17s 6d; and another for £22 11s 6d. Dr Laing's copy, with pen and ink facsimiles of two of the prints, but with a rare broadside inserted at the end, the petition of William Dick, heir to

the deceased Sir William Dick of Braid, &c., &c., was offered for sale this year at the moderate price of three guineas, by an eminent London bookseller."

Sir William Dick had a family of five sons and two daughters, but such was the unfortunate position of this once opulent family, that Sir Andrew Dick (as successor and executor to his father) his son Lewis, and other representatives of the house of Dick found it necessary to obtain personal protection from the Parliament against arrestment. Repeated attempts were made to get the Government to recognise their obligations to the family, particularly in conection with the loans, and ultimately Sir Andrew received a small pension of £132 from Charles II., which was continued to his descendants.



OLD ARMS OF DICK OF PRIESTFIELD.

The fortunes of the family were restored by Sir William's great grandson, Sir James Dick, a man of remarkable shrewdness of character. Like his great grandfather he was a merchant of Edinburgh, and succeeded so well as to be able to purchase several estates in the neighbourhood of the city. In 1677 he purchased from Sir Thomas Hamilton the lands and Tower of Priestfield; the adjoining lands of Cameron were shortly afterwards purchased from Sir Alexander Murray, along with a portion of the level ground or meadows belonging to Alexander Preston of Craigmillar, including Cameron or Cambroun House, and Clearburn. These were formed into a compact well-defined estate, certainly not of great extent, for which a special charter under the Greal Seal was granted, 1st August 1678, forming it into a free barony. On account of his merit as a citizen of Edinburgh, and in recognition of the loyalty and sufferings of his predecessors, Sir James Dick was by Royal patent, dated 2nd March 1677, created a Baronet. In 1680 he was Provost of Edinburgh, and on the occasion of the Duke of York (brother of Charles II.) coming to reside in the Capital of Scotland in that year, he pre-

sided at a grand banquet given in the Parliament House by the Magistrates to his Grace and the Duchess of York and the Lady Anne, who afterwards ascended the throne as Queen Anne. On this occasion Sir James, it is said, acquitted himself with great dignity. Sir James Dick, being a Roman Catholic, the Duke of York, who was also of the same persuasion, seems to have formed an intimate and friendly acquaintance with him during his residence at Holyrood. He was indeed so partial to his society, that while Sir James and his family occupied Priestfield during the summer season, the Duke used frequently to walk through the King's Park, skirting the base of Arthur Seat, to visit him at Priestfield. From this circumstance, the path through the Park taken in these journeys, came to be called the DUKE'S WALK, by which name it is known to this day.

The intimacy with the Duke of York, however flattering to the loyalty of the Provost, combined with the popular dread at that time of any attempt that might possibly be made to suppress Presbyterianism and restore Prelacy, or what was considered even worse, Popery, brought down upon the owner of Priestfield a calamity of a startling character. This was no less than the entire destruction of the quaint old building so long occupied by the lairds of Riccarton, by the Cants, and by the Hamiltons, with all its furniture and valuables.

The disturbance originated in a demonstration by the students of the University, ever then, as now, inclined for any frolic. Intended, no doubt, as a mild protest against attempts to alter the established order of things, the students resolved to manifest their zeal for Protestantism by a procession and the burning of an effigy of His Holiness the Pope on Christmas day. The following account of the affair, if not very sympathetic for the ardent students, is circumstantial:—

"The Magistrates, having got intelligence of their design, and being resolved to prevent a ceremony calculated to affront the Duke, as well as foment sedition, sent a party of soldiers to stop the procession. They accordingly in so far interrupted it, that instead of His Holiness being burned with all solemnity at the Cross, the students were fain to burn him post haste in Blackfriars Wynd, and seven of the rioters being apprehended, were committed to custody for a few days and then liberated. Violent denunciations of revenge against the Magistrates were heard. But it was not supposed that these young people had been so early im-

bued with that furious zeal and rancorous malice which their subsequent conduct evinced. Upon the 11th of January following (1681) the house of Priestfield, the seat of Sir James Dick, Lord Provost of Edinburgh (the family being then in town), was set on fire, and with all the furniture, burned to the ground. A barrel half full of combustible materials was found in a neighbouring park, and several people deponed that on the night of the conflagration they saw some young men, with unlighted links in their hands, and a dark lanthorn, going towards the house of Priestfield, but notwithstanding the offer of a free pardon and reward of 2000 merks (or £100) to any who would discover their associates, the actual perpetrators were never detected."

The Provost, worthy man, was according to the custom of the times enjoying the conviviality of Steel's Tavern with the rest of the Magistrates, and—to use his own words—"after eight rang a gentleman came and called me aside in the room and showed the condition of my house being burning, with great prudence." Finding it, notwithstanding the circumstances, rather difficult to get away from his companions, he explains that as "a number of persons of quality both came and sent to know the truth, which obliged me to stay to entertain discourse with them about half-an-hour, and then I went home to find my house [in the Lawn Market] so full of friends and neighbours with my wife and children, that I wished to have been in some place of retirement." *

The burning of Priestfield House made a considerable stir at the time, and tended to bring matters to a crisis between the Presbyterian or popular party and the High Church party attached to the Government of the Duke of York. The college gates were ordered to be shut, and the students to withdraw themselves fifteen miles from the city. But in ten days the college gates were thrown open, and the students allowed to return, upon their friends becoming caution for their peaceful behaviour. The Court in London and the Duke's Government at Edinburgh took the whole matter of riot in the streets, with the burning of the Pope's effigy, and Priestfield House, into serious consideration, and resolved that Sir James Dick should in some measure be indemnified.

The popular feeling, however, appears to have been rather against than with the Provost, if one may judge by various accounts of the occurrence that have been handed down to our day. A full description of it is given by Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall in his *Historical Observes*, and several letters from Sir James

*Private Letter to Mr Patrick Ellis.

Dick himself are extant and of interest as giving circumstantial notices of the affair, and show the Provost in rather a favourable light as not being actuated by vindictiveness against the students, whatever were their feelings towards him.

To Mr Patrick Ellis, London.

"Edinburgh, 15th Januarie, 1681.

"I believe you have heard by the two last Posts of the burning of my house at Priestfield. However, because there may be false reports and for your own satisfaction, I thought good to give you a trew toutch of it by this postscript, viz., upon Tuesday last, being the 11th instant, about eight o'clock at night, my servant-man who stayes ther, and takes notice of my house, brought me notice that it wes all in flames, and wes past remedying before any thereabout wes aware of it. He being lodged in the roome on the other syd of the close opposite to the main house, did smell burning about seven o'clock att night, but by reason no person had been in the principal house, or the doors thereof opened for two or three days befor, had no suspicion it could be ther, so he went to the stables, but finding ther wes no occasion of the smoke ther he returned to his roome, and about a quarter of ane hour thereafter ane other servant there having heard a noise lyke the shutting of the gate of the close, or lyke something falling, presently did espy the westmost roome of the principal house all in a flame, but saw no person, it being very dark. So to be short the whole house with all the furniture therof as when my familie possest it last summer is quite burned to ashes, save only the stone walls thereof. This burning of my house there was threatened by sundry persons that day the effigie of the Pop was burnt in the city, because some of the King's forces came to the city to resist that. But I never thought any person would be so wicked as to put it in practice. The barrell of gunpowder out of which it seems they had made up their materialls for setting my house on fire, wes found upon Wednesday by the minister of Dudingston (Mr Andrew Lumsden) and his servant going home—having been visiting the ruines, and it was standing in a corner close by the north end of my own park dyke near to the King's Park, the one end of it being broken, and some more than half empty, which confirms it to have been the contrivance of some mallicious persons."

To his brother William in London.

"Edinburgh, 1st Febbr. 1681.

"The Secrat Counsell has emitted ane proclamatione thatt whoo ever will discover the actors yrof shall have 2000 marcks, and ane remission to the discoverer providing he discover his associates. The Secrat Counsell nacks itt their work to examine, but as yett has come noe lenth. The Colledge yetts is shutt by order of Secrat Counsell, but I am indivir-ing to gett off the restraint which I hope to get done. Wee leive in bad times. God help itt."

To Mr Patrick Ellis, London.

"Edinburgh, 12th Febbr. 1681.

"As to the fendinge outt of the actors, ther is ane coll man that lives att Nithrie [Niddrie], about two mylls from Priestfield, wes going home, and cominge by thatt waye, who depones thatt he did sie a number of younge men with unlighted torches or lincks obout a rige south from my housse, who had with them ane blind bonett (?) which is now judged to have beine desained to sett ffyre to their combustibell matter, and before the said coll man could wine home he leucked back and did see my housse all in ffyre and told persons thatt he mett with, upon which they heave deponed thatt itt was the young collidgeners had done it, butt as yett the particular persons is not discovered. Yet I am soe much denyed as to revenge, that I should be sorie to know such wreches, and that any such should suffer death for my housse. It would be no plesser to me, ffor their losse of any good conscience is of greater moment than my housse which I hoppe shall be found noe greatt want in my testament."

It may be of interest to mention here that Sir James Dick's "Book of Letters," from which these extracts are made, was kept by his confidential clerk, a young man named George Watson, who entered his service in 1676 at the age of twenty-six, acting as his secretary for twenty years, and who was afterwards the founder of a well known institution in Edinburgh—George Watson's Hospital. Descended from a family which for some generations had been merchants in Edinburgh, George Watson was employed by Sir James Dick as his clerk and book-keeper, and was even allowed to transact in a mercantile way certain affairs in the course of exchange between Edinburgh and London on his own behalf, by which he seems to have acquired some means. In 1695 he became accountant of the Bank of Scotland, and died in April 1723, leaving by his will the sum of £12,000 to endow an hospital for the maintenance and instruction of the male children of decayed merchants in Edinburgh. The money so left was by the prudent management of the governors increased to £20,000 before they began to build the hospital in 1738 in a field of seven acres belonging to George Heriot's Trust, where the Royal Infirmary now stands. The name of old Sir James Dick's clerk and keeper of his "Copie Book of Letters" is still well-known in Edinburgh; the schools named after him now occupying a foremost place among the many educational institutions of the city.

But to return to our narrative,

Sir James Dick represented the city in the Parliament held in Edinburgh in 1681, and various acts were then passed in order to compensate him for the losses he had sustained. Thus Fountainhall tells us that "by an act of 11th April prohibiting the importation of several articles of merchandise, the customs were turned into a collection, with three collectors, one of these being Sir James, recommended by the Duke of York *because of the loss of his house.*"

The tradition is that Priestfield House as it now stands was rebuilt for Sir James Dick at the expense of the Scottish Treasury, but the real facts of the case are that he only received £800 in all towards the cost of its reconstruction; the empty state of the Treasury being such that the Treasurer was unable even to meet the orders for payment to him during the two years he held office. These orders (still unpaid) are preserved at Prestonfield. Referring to this matter, Sir Alexander Dick, grandson of Sir James, mentions in his *Manuscript Book of Anecdotes*, "All I could ever observe from books of letters and other papers kept by Mr George Watson, my grandfather's clerk, no sum ever exceeded £800 sterling that he ever got for that indemnification. Perhaps more was meant to be given, but that does not appear. On the contrary, it appears that the £400 sterling of his allowance as Lord Provost was never paid."

In 1682 Sir James had ceased to be Lord Provost, but he was as great a favourite with the Duke and the Court party as before. It was when he was returning from London in that year with the Duke in the "Gloucester" man-of-war, he nearly lost his life by shipwreck, the ship having been cast upon a sand bank off Yarmouth, where she speedily went to pieces. Sir James relates how that the crew were crowding into a boat set apart for the Royal Duke, on which the Earl of Winton and Sir George Gordon of Haddo had to drive them back with drawn swords in order to prevent its being swamped. Sir James Dick, with the Earls of Middleton and Perth, the Laird of Touch, and Mr Churchhill, afterwards the famous Duke of Marlborough, escaped in another boat, but the Earl of Roxburgh, the Laird of Hopetoun, and 200 men were drowned.

This adventure, in which the heir to the throne of England so narrowly escaped a watery grave, is narrated by Sir James Dick in a letter to Mr Patrick Ellis, a copy of which through the kind-

ness of the late Sir Robert K. Dick-Cunyngham we have in our possession.*

But the Laird of Priestfield, if he had many friends, had also his enemies, who envied his wealth and hated his principles. Whether on good grounds, or merely from political malevolence, an attempt was made to impeach his conduct as a merchant, a farmer of the Customs and Excise, as well as a Magistrate.

In 1682, presumably on his safe return from his perilous voyage in the "Gloucester," a complaint was made against him and others as tacksmen of the Excise duty on ale, that they had been bribing Halton, the Deputy-Treasurer, to prefer them to a tack of the Excise, he (Sir James) being not only a Magistrate but a Commissioner or settler of the tack. On this complaint two were found guilty, viz.:—Sir William Bining and Robert Milne, and were fined respectively in 9000 and 3000 merks; "but Sir James Dick's case was held over till next Council."†

When his case was taken up, he also was found guilty of offering bribes to Halton, the Duke of Lauderdale's younger brother, and as a consequence, was deprived of his seat in Parliament and in the Convention of Royal Burghs.

At this time of day it is not very easy to explain what was the particular occasion of the alleged acts of bribery for which Sir James Dick was thus condemned. There were two parties in the Council—a Court party or High Church party, and a Low Church or Presbyterian party, and he belonged to the former. In 1693 the latter party had gained the ascendancy, and thus we find transactions challenged in which Dick and his party had been implicated—Sir James Dick, along with Fleming and Kinloch, and other Magistrates being in that year called in question in regard to bribes to the Duke of Lauderdale and other Ministers of State. In 1684 he was further accused of appropriating to himself a tack of the town's common good, and using to his own advantage, without setting them up to public roup, some of the lands adjoining Priestfield, on the Burgh Moor.

Notwithstanding all this, Sir James Dick was wealthy and powerful, and few of the merchants could compete with him. He tried everything whereby money could be made. He erected and carried on a brewery on the Burgh Moor, and even the manufacture of playing cards was not beneath his notice; and in

* See Appendix. † Fountainhall's *Notes*, P. 371.

connection with this we find that in November 1682 he was prosecuted by one Peter de Brewis on the ground that the pursuer had acquired the sole right to making these. The Privy Council, before whom the matter was brought, "ordained Sir James to sell Brewis his stock if they could agree upon a price, or to export them, or to keep them at home, and to sell none of them under the pain of escheat, for a year or two, till it might appear whether De Brewis will be able to furnish the country with that commodity himself." *

In his excise farming he had few competitors, as we learn from the following note by Lord Fountainhall:—"24th November 1686.—At Exchequer, the Lords refused to set the Inland Excise upon the brewings, because in the roup there was no more than one bid for it by Sir James Dick of Priestfield, and only to the extent of £19,000 sterling, which, with the Excise arising from the outward commodities from abroad, would not make up the King's quota of £40,000 per annum." †

But Sir James Dick was not merely a skilful financier, a shrewd merchant, a polished courtier, and a dignified Provost; he also proved himself an able agriculturist, and a pioneer in the improved husbandry which has brought the lands of the Lothians to their present high state of cultivation. No sooner had he acquired the estate of Priestfield than he set about improvements. Formerly the ground had been covered with oak trees, extending westward over the Common Moor of Edinburgh, for the destruction of which every facility had formerly been given on account of the forest having long served as a shelter to all manner of thieves and "lymmars." Discerning the necessity for compensating the land for what is annually taken from it, Sir James saw that this waste might easily be averted and better crops secured.

At that period the manure from the streets of Edinburgh was so little valued that instead of any revenue being brought to the city a very considerable sum was paid to the farmers in the neighbourhood to carry it away. Besides, the streets were kept in a wretched state of filth, so that walking the streets of Edinburgh at night was as odoriferous as it was perilous. The Lord Provost availed himself of the general anxiety to have the filth removed, and undertook to clean the streets at his own expense. This he did for a considerable time, and had the whole carried off

* Fountainhall's *Notes*, P. 377. † *Ibid.*

to his estate of Priestfield on the backs of horses—wheeled carts being then uncommon. He at the same time laid down his fields in better condition, enclosing, sub-dividing, and draining them, so that in a few years his estate became one of the best and richest in the county; and to this day, we believe, its grass parks are deemed superior to any around the city or even in Scotland.

The present mansion, which was built in 1687 from a design, or with the advice, of his intimate friend, Sir William Bruce, the King's architect, and the designer of the new Palace of Holyrood, is a large but rather plain building in the Scottish domestic style of architecture, its gables and chimney heads being its most prominent features. A large square porch in the classical style appears to have been added at a later date—probably in the year 1820.

On the completion of the new mansion in 1689 Sir James Dick changed the name from Priestfield to Prestonfield, by which it has ever since been known. Some interesting particulars in regard to its construction and plenishing are given in the "Copie Book" already referred to, chiefly as to the material supplied, from which it will be seen the house was not put up by contract. He took good care to get a good article at the lowest price, and no doubt employed masons, carpenters, &c., to execute the work under his own hand.

Sir James Dick to Mr Stephen Ernalt.

"Edinburgh, 3rd Feby. 1687.

"I am going to bild ane countrie housse, ffor which I stand in need of twelf kists (chests) of glesse ffor making of windows. I desair you may tack care to chose the same good, and buy them als eassie as you can. I entret you tack good nottice thatt this glesse be well packed for feir of breckage, and when you find ane saffe ffraught ffor Leith, send the same to me adrest by the bill of lading that the skipper be oblidged to delyver them to me upon the shore of Leith; ffor to be oblidged to tack them outt at the rodd of Leith will occasion hazard of brecken, and greatt charges will aryse upon them.

"As for news I have non, only Sir Charles Dalrumpell is mead King's Advocatt, in please of Sir George M'Kenzie."

To Mr James Miller.

"12th Apryl 1687.

"Sir,—Being now biggen ane countrie housse oblidges me to desaire you to buye for me thir partikulars, viz., thrie hundreth and sixtie black and

whaitt marbell stones, twelf inches in square; let the on half be all black and the other half all whaitt, reckoning fyve skore to the hundreth. Mor, half ane hundreth of good thick wainscott planks, ane inch thick and twelf inches brod, about twelf or threttin futt longe. See that they be netley sawn, and of good clean wood. Mor, ane quarter of ane hundreth of the same lenth and breidthe, aboutt thrie fourt parts of ane inch thick. Mor, tenn stone of the best glue for carpenters. Buye all this as cheape and good as you can, and shipp them in the first shipp bound ffor the harbour of Leith, and marck them D. Be sure to shypp in noe shypp but such as is bound for the harbour of Leith, in respect they are ballast and wold be greatt expenses if they were shypped in any shypp bound to ane other port." [The "marbell stones" here referred to, still form the pavement in the entrance hall as in 1687.]

To the same.

"13th Decem. 1688.

"Sir,—I had yours of the 7th Octob. last, by which you advaissed me you had bought the planks and glew I had ordered you, but I am informed by James Nairne, skyper, thatt you had nott bought them, for if you had done the same you would have shyped aboard of him, for me. You are much to blem that you missed the occasione of his shyp, for I would have had all freight frie in respect I am one of his owners. Butt he tells me thatt you thought thatt the Hollanders invasione would disorder all things. Seinge that things is turned to a greatter calmnes, I desair you efter receipt heirof to tack the first good occasione ffor Leith and shyp the same."

On the completion of the house, and being anxious for its adornment with works of art, Sir James determined to get these from the Continent, there being then little or nothing of the kind in Scotland. He accordingly gave the following order to Bailie Alexander Brand to purchase some paintings for him:—

"Edinburgh, 30th June 1691.

"Sir,—I doe deliver you Tenn Louidores in gold to be bestowed upon good hansom Pictures to be bought in Flanders or Holland, where you think fittest for hanging of my staire-caice of my house at Prestonfield, w^{h} would be in number from sixteen to twenty-four, as you can have them. Some of them would be large for such particular places of the staire w^{ch} I did lett you see. They would be all without mullers, for the easy transport roull them all upon sticks, least if they be foulded, that may spoile the painting. And after you have bought them, send them in the first ship for Leith, allongst with your own goodes, and mark the box or case, or matt they are put in, with D directed for me. Lett your

choyce runn upon lively light coloures and not sadd. I remit the ffancie of y^e^ Pictures to your owne choyce which will oblige your humble servant." *

Prestonfield House, as now restored, with its lawns and terraces, its Dutch garden, its bowling green, and avenues carpeted with turf, with fountains, statues, summer-houses, and grottoes, formed one of the most charming of residences in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, while the near proximity of Duddingston Loch lent it additional beauty.

We have already adverted to the litigation in which Sir James Dick, as proprietor of the loch, was involved by that "high and mighty dame of quality," the Duchess of Lauderdale, in reference to the swans her husband had placed in the water. Though defeated in the action against Sir James, as she was admirably skilled in the science of legal warfare, she succeeded in instigating the Duke of Hamilton, as keeper of Holyrood Palace, to take steps on the part of the Crown to interfere in the matter. The result of this was that although Sir James was the undoubted owner of the loch, he was actually obliged to bring a declarator of property to establish his right. †

Having no sons, and only one daughter, who was married in 1696 to Sir William Cunyngham of Caprington, Baronet, Sir James made provision for the estate and baronetcy descending to her children. The latter was secured by a patent of Queen Anne, dated 22nd March 1707. Lady Cunyngham had three sons, John, William, and Alexander, and by a deed of entail executed in 1699 the estates of Prestonfield and Corstorphine were made over at their uncle's death to the second of these, or failing him to his younger brother. Sir James Dick died in 1728 at the ripe age of eighty-five, and was accordingly succeeded by the second son of Lady Cunyngham, who in terms of the entail, assumed the name and title of Sir William Dick. This Sir William died in 1746 without issue, and the estates of Prestonfield, Clermiston, and Corstorphine devolved upon Alexander Cunyngham, his younger brother, who also assumed the name of Dick.

Lady Cunyngham enjoyed the life-rent of her father's estate of Prestonfield, and resided a good deal there down till the year 1758, when she died. She was living there in 1745 while the

* *Curiosities of a Scots Charter Chest*, by the Honourable Mrs Atholl Forbes.

† See Maidment in *Scottish Pasquils*, P. 239.

Highland Army lay at Duddingston, and before Prince Charlie's evacuation of Edinburgh she was called upon by Secretary Murray to make a contribution of £100 towards the rebel cause. The receipt for that amount, dated 23rd October 1745, by Murray, "for the use of His Royal Highness the Prince," is still in possession of her descendant, Sir William Dick-Cunyngham, at Prestonfield. Another interesting relic of the "Forty-Five" also preserved among the family papers is a printed order, dated 22nd October, directing "all persons wishing to offer service to the Prince to join one of the regiments of foot or horse or artillery for pay and muster, &c.; also prohibiting under highest displeasure any person or persons to wear cockades unless they be joined as said is, or belong to the conductors of our baggage, forage, &c., or other branch of our service. Given at our Palace of Holyrood House."

Sir Alexander Dick, who succeeded his brother in 1746, was born on 23rd October 1703. His prospect of becoming heir to any of the estates, either of his father, Sir William Cunyngham of Caprington, or his grandfather, Sir James Dick of Prestonfield and Corstorphine, being considered remote, he wisely qualified himself for a profession by studying medicine. He took the degree of M.D. at the University of Leyden on 31st August 1725, upon which occasion he published an inaugural dissertation *De Epilepsia*, which did him much credit. Returning to his native country he had the honour of receiving a second diploma for the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of St Andrews, 23rd January 1727. In November of the same year he was admitted a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh. A lengthened Continental tour with Allan Ramsay, the painter, in 1736-37, principally in Italy, did much to cultivate his classical and archæological tastes, and when in Rome he formed the acquaintance of the exiled Stuart family, coming a good deal in contact with the youthful Charles Edward. Dr Cunyngham (for at that time he bore his father's name) commenced practice as a physician in Pembrokeshire. This he continued till the death of his brother, Sir William Dick, and his consequent succession to the title and estates in 1746, when he returned to Edinburgh and assumed the title of Sir Alexander Dick, Bart., of Prestonfield.

His mother being still alive and occupying Prestonfield, Sir Alexander took up his residence for a time at Cameron House,

taking an active part in local affairs, chiefly connected with public improvements. Though retired from the active duties of his profession, he still continued to cultivate it as a science, and kept up an intimate correspondence with the physicians of Edinburgh. His rank and ability being recognised by the medical faculty of the city, he was in 1756 elected President of the Royal College of Physicians. To this office he was elected no less than seven times in succession, a sufficient indication of his fame and popularity. He was earnestly pressed to continue as president longer, but declined, on the ground that he would be thus depriving others of their rightful share of the honours of the profession. On the erection of the Hall of the Royal College of Physicians on the site now occupied by the Commercial Bank in George Street, he contributed handsomely towards its cost, and did much to further the prosperity of the College.*

But Sir Alexander Dick was not only a prominent physician, he was a gentleman well known and highly respected in his day for his "general attainments in literature, public spirit, and elegance of manners." He took much pride in his house and grounds, and did much for their improvement. These were beautifully laid out and kept in great order, being planted with many rare trees and shrubs, so that Prestonfield became an attractive resort of the *literati* of the city. Lawyers, clergymen, poets, and antiquarians, all were alike welcome by the genial baronet. Among the society which frequented his hospitable board were David Hume, the historian; Boswell, the biographer of Johnson; Allan Ramsay; Home, the author of *Douglas;* Henry Erskine; and the great lexicographer, Dr Samuel Johnson. With these and many others, including Benjamin Franklin, he conducted an active correspondence throughout his long life.

The famous American, Dr Benjamin Franklin, visited Prestonfield in the year 1759, and expressed his satisfaction with the hospitality he had experienced there in the following verses:—

Joys of Prestonfield, adieu!
Late found, soon lost, but still we'll view
Th' engaging scene,—oft to these eyes
Shall the pleasing vision rise.

Hearts that warm towards a friend,
Kindness on kindness without end,

* See *Transactions of Royal Society of Edinburgh*, Vol. II.

Easy converse, sprightly wit,
These we found in dame and knight.

Cheerful meals, balmy rest,
Beds that never bugs molest,
Neatness and sweetness all around,
These—at Prestonfield we found.

Hear, oh heaven! a stranger's prayer!
Bless the hospitable pair!
Bless their sweet bairns, and very soon
Give these a brother, those a son!

Dr Johnson was held in high estimation by Sir Alexander, and on the occasion of the famous Englishman's visit to Scotland after his trip to the West Highlands, he spent several days, it is said, at Prestonfield. In Sir Alexander's diary the fact is mentioned that on 19th November 1773, "Dr Johnson and Mr Boswell dined here, and I gave Mr Johnson rhubarb seeds and some melon," and again on 3rd February 1780, the two friends are found at Prestonfield, for it was through their mutual friend, Boswell, that Sir Alexander Dick and Samuel Johnson were brought into correspondence. In recognition of the great kindness shown to him by Sir Alexander Dick, Dr Johnson had sent him a present of his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, which drew from the recipient a letter thoroughly characteristic of the man, and of his work as an agricultural pioneer; while the admiration in which the literary ability of Johnson was held by Sir Alexander is abundantly brought out.

"Prestonfield, Feby. 17, 1777.

"Sir,—I had yesterday the honour of receiving your book of your *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, which you were so good as to send me by the hands of our mutual friend Mr Boswell of Auchenleck; for which I return you my most hearty thanks, and after carefully reading it over again, shall deposit it in my little collection of choice books, next our worthy friend's *Journey to Corsica*. As there are many things to admire in both performances, I have often wished that no travels or journey should be published but those undertaken by persons of integrity and capacity to judge well, and describe faithfully, and in good language, the situation, condition, and manners of the countries passed through. Indeed, our country of Scotland, in spite of the union of the Crowns, is still in most places so devoid of clothing, or cover from hedges and plantations, that it was well you gave your readers a sound *monitoire*, with respect to

that circumstance. The truths you have told, and the purity of the language in which they are expressed, as your journey is universally read, may and already appear to have a very good effect. For a man of my acquaintance who has the largest nursery for trees and hedges in this country, tells me that of late the demand upon him for these articles is doubled, and sometimes tripled. I have therefor listed Dr Samuel Johnson in some of my memorandums of the principal planters and favourers of the enclosures, under a name which I took the liberty to invent from the Greek, *Papadendrion*. Lord Auchenleck, and some few more are of the list. I am told that one gentlemen in the shire of Aberdeen, viz., Sir Archibald Grant, has planted above fifty million of trees on a piece of very wild ground at Monimusk. I must inquire if he has fenced them well, before he enters my list, for that is the soul of enclosing. I began myself to plant a little, our ground being too valuable for much, and that is now fifty years ago; and the trees, now in my seventy-fourth year, I look up to with reverence and show them to my eldest son, now in his fifteenth year, and they are the full height of my country house here, where I had the pleasure of receiving you, and hope again to have that satisfaction with our mutual friend, Mr Boswell. I shall always continue, with the truest esteem, dear Doctor, your most obliged and obedient servant."

In connection with his horticultural tastes, it may be mentioned that when the seeds of the true rhubarb were first introduced into Britain by Dr Mounsey of St Petersburg, Sir Alexander not only bestowed great pains in the cultivation of the plant, but also in the drying of the root and preparing it for the market. The success of his efforts was so great that the society in London for the encouraging of arts and commerce presented him in 1774 with a gold medal for the best specimen of British rhubarb.

Like his grandfather, Sir James Dick, he was a strong believer in the necessity of manuring his land. Conceiving the idea of increasing the productiveness of the slope lying between Arthur Seat and Craigmillar Castle, and appreciating the value of the marl bed at the bottom of Duddingston Loch, he commenced in 1772, and continued for many years thereafter, a systematic process of dredging it from the loch, and laying it upon the land. The rich marl, which was prized for its fertilising properties by the farmer of those days as guano and artificial manure are now, added much to the value of the Prestonfield estate. It was while these operations were going on, that the loch yielded up treasures of quite another kind, and of special interest to antiquaries. The dredging was conducted by means of flat-bottomed boats with the requisite machinery attached. These were set afloat, and Sir

Alexander in the third year of his operations had the satisfaction of discovering a great quantity of deer's horns, weapons in bronze, and even human skulls, imbedded in the marl, which have given rise to much speculation as to their origin. The result of this interesting discovery, made on 9th August 1775, was communicated by him in a letter to the Earl of Buchan, the founder of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, shortly after its institution in 1780, part of which we quote :—

"In the third year of my progress, in dragging successfully great quantities of marl, now and then I met, in the middle of the Loch, with large fragments of deer's horns of an uncommon magnitude. As my operations were proceeding northward, about 150 yards from the verge of the lake, next the King's Park, the people employed in dredging in places deeper than usual after having removed the first surfaces of fat blackish mould, got into a bed of shell marl from five to seven feet deep, from which they brought up in the collecting leather bag a very weighty substance, which when examined, as it was thrown into the marl boat, was found to be a heap of swords, spears, and other lumps of brass, mixed with the purest shell marl. Some of the lumps of brass seemed as if half melted, and my conjecture is that there had been upon the side of the hill, near the lake, some manufactory of brass arms of the several kinds for which there was a demand."

We do not enter into the question here raised by Sir Alexander Dick, as it has already been dealt with in our opening chapter. The articles referred to were fine specimens of the bronze period of Scottish history. Other specimens were from time to time recovered from the Loch, and in the following year there was found among the marl a copper coin of the Emperor Tacitus. Some of the most perfect and beautiful of these ancient weapons were presented to George III. and others, doubtless also among the best specimens were retained as family heirlooms, some of which were afterwards given to Sir Walter Scott, but the remainder were presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and we believe formed the very first donation towards the founding of their valuable collection of national antiquities. The specimens presented to the King and nearly all those which were retained by the family have disappeared, but the whole of the collection presented to the society still remains in the museum in Edinburgh.*

* See Sir D. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, Vol. II., P. 347.

Sir Alexander Dick was, all through a long eventful life, a man of wonderful activity. Possessed of a large amount of perseverance and application, without which the best devised schemes often fail, his public services were as diligently prosecuted as his private hobbies. As one of the founders of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1783, his name stands among the first on its roll of members, and he did much to promote its interests and success. For many years he was a faithful and vigilant manager of the Royal Infirmary. He indeed took an active share in the promotion of every undertaking beneficial either to his country in general or to the city of Edinburgh in particular. Chosen to be convener of the Dalkeith District of Turnpike Roads in 1751, the year in which the Turnpike Act commenced in Midlothian, it was largely through his exertions we are indebted for the many excellent high roads that now interlace the county. He was a warm friend, and his conduct towards all with whom he came in contact was ever actuated by the highest sense of honour and integrity. He encouraged the visits of young people to Prestonfield, where they had entertainment enough both out of doors and within. As an instance of his hospitality Boswell once told Dr Johnson that he remembered his having during the course of one year a thousand people to dine at his house, or an average of three per day. In the *Memoirs of Henry Erskine*, we are informed that that distinguished lawyer, and his brother, the Earl of Buchan, when boys, were frequently at Prestonfield, and used to amuse themselves with the quaint gods and goddesses in the garden, "especially the leaden Bacchus," which was made to spout water to their entire delight. "They also met there Allan Ramsay in the very last years of his life, David Hume, and Home, the author of *Douglas*, from whom, and from their aged host, Sir Alexander Dick, they possibly imbibed their first impressions of literature." *

Sir Alexander Dick was twice married: first to Janet Dick, the last of the line of Sir Andrew Dick of Craighouse, second son of the Sir William Dick of Braid with whom our story began, who ended his misfortunes in the prison at Westminster. By this lady Sir Alexander had three sons and two daughters, only the latter, Janet and Anne, survived him, and were the recipients of a pension of £100 from George III. in 1777 to the death of the

* *Memoirs of Henry Erskine*, P. 50.

last survivor—Anne—in 1845. His second marriage, which, according to the Duddingston Register, was celebrated on 22nd March 1761, was with Miss Mary Butler, the eldest daughter of David Butler, Esq., of the county of Pembroke, by whom he had seven children, of whom three sons and three daughters survived their father; these were William, John, Robert Keith, Elizabeth, Mary, and Margaret. Sir Alexander Dick died at Prestonfield, full of years and honours, on 10th November 1785, and a contemporary authority—Professor Duncan—has left on record that "his death, even at the advanced age of eighty-two, was a great loss to society." Three months before he had dined in the city with Dr Johnson, Boswell, Lord Hailes, Dr Gregory, and a few other friends, Boswell remarking of him that he appeared "at eighty-one with his faculties entire, his heart warm, and his temper gay." He was succeeded in the title and estates by his eldest surviving son William, then in his twenty-third year, and a Captain in the First Foot Guards.

Some interesting reminiscences of Prestonfield and the young Baronet, who was now its owner, are given by Lord Cockburn in his *Memorials of his Time*. "My father," he says, "was a friend of the Sir William Dick of Prestonfield who flourished when I was a boy; a great sportsman, handsome, good-natured, and (which goes a great way with me) a first-rate skater. We were the only boys (and how we were envied from the hillside) who were always at liberty to play in the grounds, and to use his nice boat, so I knew the place thoroughly. The reeds were then regularly cut over, by means of short scythes, with very long handles, close to the ground, and this made Duddingston Loch nearly twice its present size. All between the loch and the house [Prestonfield] was a sort of Dutch garden, admirably kept. Besides the invariable bowling green which formed the open-air drawing-room of all our old houses, it had several long smooth lanes of turf, anciently called bowling alleys, parterres and lawn interspersed, fountains, carved stone seats, dials, statues, and trimmed evergreen hedges. How we used," says Cockburn, "to make the statues spout! There was a leaden Bacchus in particular of whose various ejections it was impossible to tire. A very curious place." This latter figure is apparently the one already referred to as being such a source of amusement to the Erskine boys a generation before, but whether this figure of Bacchus is

still at Prestonfield is uncertain. A modern authority indeed tells us "there is a figure of Bacchus *in stone* still to be seen at Prestonfield, and "though sadly bashed, is preserved in one of the stables, where it has been for three generations." * How low have the gods of ancient Greece and Rome now fallen, when they are relegated to the shelter of a Scottish stable!

Sir William Dick was married to Miss Johanna Douglas, heiress of Garwaldfoot, in Peebleshire, by whom he had one son and three daughters. This Baronet died at the early age of thirty-four, 19th November 1796, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Alexander Dick—then only a boy—who did not survive his father more than twelve years. He died 2nd June 1808, when the title and estates reverted to his uncle, Sir John Dick, the second surviving son of the physician. Sir John, who had been formerly in the 22nd Light Dragoon Regiment, did not enjoy the property long, for he died in December 1812, and having no issue, was succeeded by his younger brother, Robert Keith, who thus inherited the estates of Prestonfield and Corstorphine as seventh Baronet. On the decease of his cousin-german, Sir William Cunyngham of Caprington, in Ayrshire, in 1829, Sir Robert Keith Dick also acquired the Baronetcy of Cunyngham of Lamburghtoun, and though he retained the name of Dick in conformity with the Prestonfield entail executed by his great grandfather, Sir James Dick, in 1699, he was the last of the Dicks, as his descendants have since adhered to the name of Cunyngham in virtue of their succession from the Caprington family. The family name has since continued to be Dick-Cunyngham.

Sir Robert Keith Dick was married 5th May 1807, to Harriet, third daughter of Thomas Hammer, Esq., of Stapleton, Gloucestershire, by whom he had five sons and three daughters. Entering the Civil Service of the Hon. East India Company in 1794, when quite a young man, he served for twenty years, and latterly as judge of Sylhet, in Eastern Bengal, under the Governor-Generalship of Lord Minto and the Earl of Moira. He returned home in 1814 to take possession of the estates devolving on him by the death of his brother. Being a keen sportsman he kept a fine stud of horses, and the stable accommodation not proving sufficient, he erected (in 1816) the large range of offices adjoining the mansion in the form of a rotunda. Other alterations and

*See *Castles and Mansions of the Lothians.*

additions were subsequently made by him, among others being the large porch over the front doorway of his house.

As a country gentleman Sir Robert was held in high estimation. He died in December 1849, and was buried in the family vault at Duddingston Church. His eldest son, Sir William Hammer, who succeeded his father, received a military training and served for some years previous to his marriage as an officer in the King's Dragoon Guards. He was married 17th February 1836, to Susan, daughter of the late Major James Alston Stewart, of Urrard, in Perthshire, by whom he had five sons and four daughters. Sir William Hammer Dick-Cunyngham died 20th February 1871, and was gathered to his fathers at the age of sixty-three, being survived by Lady Cunyngham and three sons and three daughters. Lady Cunyngham died in London 26th April 1892. The eldest son, the late Sir Robert Keith Alexander Dick-Cunyngham was the ninth baronet in succession to the title acquired in 1707 by Sir James Dick from Queen Anne, and the seventh in succession to the baronetcy of "Cunyngham of Caprington and Lamburghtoun." He was born in 1836, and married in 1864 to Sarah Mary, daughter of the late William Hetherington, Esq. Sir Robert K. A. Dick-Cunyngham served as lieutenant in the 93rd Highlanders from 1855 to 1864, was present at the memorable siege of Lucknow, and took part in eight other engagements in the Indian Mutiny Campaign of 1857-59. Being severely wounded in the action of Khujwah on 1st November 1857, he was in recognition of his distinguished services rewarded by receiving the Indian medal with clasp for Lucknow. After a residence at Cheltenham for some years he died there in 1897, and is succeeded in the title and estates by his son Sir William Dick-Cunyngham, who was born in 1871.

It may here be added that Sir Robert Dick-Cunyngham's youngest brother, William Henry, born in 1851, is a Major in the 1st Battalion Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (late 93rd), and served with the Gordon Highlanders (92nd) throughout the last Afghan Campaign. For bravery in that memorable advance upon Cabul he was awarded the Victoria Cross in December 1879. Major Dick-Cunyngham also took a part with Lord Roberts in the celebrated march from Cabul to Candahar, and was at the battle of Candahar, 1st September 1880, where he did effective service.

Prestonfield House has not for some years past been occupied by the Dick-Cunyngham family, their residence of late being at Polefield near Cheltenham.

It has been tenanted for sixteen or seventeen years by Captain C. M. Pelham-Burn (late of the then 78th Ross-shire Buffs, now Seaforth Highlanders), a son of General Pelham-Burn, who won a high reputation for gallantry and courage at the siege of Delhi and in the Afghan War. As may be gathered from what we have already said, the house contains many interesting objects relating to the family history which we have attempted to sketch, including tapestry, portraits, quaint furnishings, manuscripts and books; while not a few notable works of art are the property of Captain Burn. In his sanctum, which is interesting as being the room in which Dr Johnson and Boswell dined when on their visits to Prestonfield, there is a fine collection of stuffed birds, specimens of the various kinds of wild fowl to be found at Duddingston Loch, which have fallen to his gun. The walls of this room exhibit a series of curious landscape paintings in upright panels, evidently early Flemish work, not unlike those we have referred to as still to be seen at Brunstane House. They may be the work of the same artist—Francis Zuccherilli—but with greater probability they are the outcome of Sir James Dick's commission to Bailie Alexander Brand in 1691, when he ordered "some good handsome pictures" to be brought from Flanders or Holland "for hanging of my staire-caice of my house at Prestonfield," and for which he sent him "Tenn Louidores in Gold."

In the Tapestry Drawing-Room, notable for its exquisitely moulded Italian ceiling, there is a secret recess behind the oak panelling, said to have been used as a hiding-place in the troublous times of the Rebellion of 1745. The tapestry is very ancient, and is said to have been one of the few things rescued from the old building when it was burned by the Edinburgh mob, though on this point there is good reason for doubt, as Provost Dick in one of his letters mentions that "not one farthing's worth was saved, all was brunt," even "the arras hangings and carpets, with the new Peutter which Mrs Rochead bought for me at London." But whether this be so or not the tapestry is exceedingly quaint. Another room has its walls lined with embossed leather in foliage and flowers. The modern Dining-Room is a handsome apartment, its

windows commanding a splendid view of Arthur Seat and Duddingston Loch, while on its walls beside several valuable modern paintings, there are portraits of Sir Alexander Dick and his wife, by Allan Ramsay, painted in 1784. Over the mantelpiece is a very large canvas by Guillon Le Thiepe, dated 1812, representing the "Judgment of Paris"—an exquisite piece of work, and in excellent condition. Besides some good family portraits which Captain Burn has here and throughout the house, there is a large upright canvas from the easel of Casamicciola—an Italian painter—representing an incident of the earthquake in 1883. Among the portraits is one by George Jamesone —the Scottish Vandyke—of Sir William Dick of Braid, Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1638-9, in what may be taken as his robe of office. Curiously enough he is represented with a silver coronet or cap which may probably be a part of the official insignia of the period.

In the Charter Chest there are many rare and curious documents, some of which we have been privileged to reproduce so far as they bore upon our work, while the public have been further made acquainted with others, no less interesting, as bearing upon various aspects of old Scottish family life. We refer to a handsome quarto volume entitled *Curiosities of a Scots Charter Chest*, edited by the Honourable Mrs Atholl Forbes, sister of the late lamented Sir Robert K. Dick-Cunyngham, published in 1897 by William Brown, Edinburgh. Any one curious to know further of Prestonfield and its family history, cannot do better than consult its pages.

CHAPTER IX.

MILITARY EVENTS—INVASIONS—CIVIL WAR—AND OLIVER CROMWELL.

THAT the parish of Duddingston, lying as it does close to the capital of the kingdom, should escape the penalty which so often befel the city in the troublous times of old was scarcely to be expected. In the numerous invasions by "our auld enemies" the English, we may be sure that the quiet little village, sheltered though it seemed to be on the sunny side of Arthur Seat, and out of the ordinary route of traveller or soldier, had its vicissitudes as well as its greater neighbour.

Nature had marked out the site of Edinburgh as peculiarly adapted for the capital. Beautiful for situation, the ridge upon which the town was built was also strong to resist attack, or at least to make attack difficult and dangerous.

In the beginning of the twelfth century, when David I., with some ideas of good government, made it his capital and a royal burgh, founding churches, abbeys, etc., it had not much to boast of except the stronghold on the Castle Rock. As we have already seen, its appearance was otherwise mean and poor. The houses were but huts, and the public buildings were few and plain. The English, nevertheless, looked upon its possession as the key of the country. It was surrendered to them in 1174 as a pledge for the performance of a treaty, in which they restored William the Lion to his country after that unfortunate campaign across the border in which he had been taken prisoner. Again, when in 1290 the succession to the Scottish Crown was competed for by Bruce and Baliol, on the death of the Maid of Norway, and Edward I. was unfortunately asked to determine between them, the various fortresses, including Edinburgh, were surrendered to him. On Baliol's throwing off the yoke, Edward again overran the country as far north as Elgin, compelling submission on all hands. His exactions and cruelties seem to have been relentless. No one escaped the touch of his iron hand. It was at this time (1296) that John Comhale, the parish priest or "vicar of Dodine-

ston," was compelled to swear fealty to the King of England, and received in return a restitution of his services from the Sheriff of Edinburgh.

We find also that a grandson of Richard of Dodineston, who resigned his lands of Duddingston in favour of Reginald de Boscho about 1230, was a party to the oath of allegiance with his sister, who is styled, "Eleyne de Duddyngston in the County of Edinburgh."

It is no part of our province to follow the stirring details of the English invasion and the War of Independence; suffice it to say, that we have several references in Blind Harry to Sir William Wallace being in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Once when preparing to invade the English border he is said to have encamped in the neighbourhood of the Figgate Whins, in the north-east part of the parish; and again, he pays a visit to the Monk of St Anthony, among the crags of Arthur's Seat, and is warned to flee. Then we find the English King, Edward II., in the year 1313, entering the country by the east coast road with that powerful army which was destined to be so ignominiously defeated at Bannockburn. The rout of the English on that eventful day was complete. Leaving his army to get home as best they could, the King, with 500 armed men, fled by way of Falkirk and Linlithgow to Edinburgh, thence to Dunbar as fast as their horses could carry them, passing on their way through the parish of Duddingston by the shore road.

In the subsequent invasions of Edward III. and Richard II., the district to the east of Edinburgh in our parish was the frequent scene of skirmishes between the Scots and the English. The light material with which the houses of the peasantry were then composed rendered them an easy prey to the flames, so that in these years the thatched cottages of the good people of Duddingston must have often presented a sad scene of desolation as they lay in blackened ruins.

No doubt this happened in 1385, when, as Froissart has it, "The Kyng of Englande (Richard II.) came and lodged in Edinborrowe, the chefe towne in all Scotlande, and there taryed fyve days, and at his departynge it was set afyre, and brent up cleane; but the Castill had no hurt, for it was strong ynough and well kept."

Scotland was reduced by these repeated invasions of the English to the last extremity, and "the manners of its inhabitants became

in a general way barbarous." Even the French, who came in the time of King David II. to prevail on him to invade England, complained that the "natives resemble wild and savage people, shunning acquaintance with strangers, envious of the honour and profit of anyone beside themselves, and perpetually jealous of losing the mean things they have!"

A century later, viz., in 1450, James II. first bestowed on the community of Edinburgh the privilege of fortifying the city by surrounding it with a strong wall, as a protection against the frequent attacks to which they were exposed. Sixty-three years later, in the time of James IV., this wall was still further extended and strengthened in anticipation of the invasion following on the disastrous field of Flodden.

Again in 1544, Edinburgh and neighbourhood were exposed to complete devastation by the English forces under the Earl of Hertford, "so that neither within the walls nor *in the suburbs* was left any house unburnt." For several miles round the city we are told "they left neither pyle, village, nor house standynge, unbrent, nor stakes of corne; besides great numbers of cattayles, which they brought dayley into the armye, and met also with much good stuffe, which the inhabitantis of Edinborrowe hadde for the savetie of the same, conveyed out of the towne."*

This inroad was one of the most terrible ever experienced in Scotland, Hertford's every step being signalised by acts of cruelty and wanton destruction of property. Pillage was followed by fire, and a blackened smoking country marked the track of the conqueror's progress, until provisions and plunder alike failing him, no course was open to him but retreat.

The merciless character of the campaign, and the energy with which it was conducted are attested by the fact that within a fortnight the English army burnt seven monasteries and religious houses, sixteen castles and towers, five market towns, 243 villages, thirteen mills, and three hospitals.†

The contemporary account given us in Dalzell's *Fragments of Scottish History*, in a letter to Lord Russell in 1544, details some of the destruction inflicted in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. The list includes "the borow and towne of Edenborough, with the abbey called Hollyroode House, and the Kyng's Palace adjoining to the same. The towne of Lythe brent, and the haven and pere

* Bourchier's *Froissart*, Vol. I., P. 8. † Hayne's *State Papers*, P. 52.

destroyed; the castle and village of Cragmyller, part of Muskelborowe towne, with the Chapel of our Lady of Lawret: Broughton, Crawmond, Tranent, Dudistane, the Ficket," &c., &c., all of which were sacked, burned, and destroyed. Even the shipping did not escape, for the fleet that accompanied the force attacked every town and village on both sides of the Firth of Forth, and "left neither shyppe, crayer, nor boate, belonging to neither village, town, creeke, nor haven between Stirling and the mouth of the river unbrunt or brought away."*

The retreat, which commenced from their entrenched camp at Leith on 15th May 1544, was made eastward along the shore road through the parish of Duddingston to Musselburgh, thence by way of Seton, Tranent, Haddington, to Dunbar and Berwick, all of which were destroyed in their course.

The enumeration of "The Ficket," among the list of places destroyed seems to indicate the existence of a village or hamlet of that name on the stream. As from all we have been able to gather, there was no village so named near the mouth of the burn until the end of the eighteenth century, it is most likely it applies to the hamlet on the Figgate Burn, where Duddingston Mill now stands, or possibly the village at Cameron Bridge near to Prestonfield.

On the Scottish border a harassing and bloody warfare was kept up for some months afterwards, many places of importance being destroyed and the inhabitants slaughtered. Among others which suffered must be mentioned the famous old Abbey of Kelso, the abbots of which for so long a time had been the superiors of Duddingston parish and barony. Twenty-two years before, in 1523, Lord Dacre had sacked and burned it with his English troops, the monks had been scattered homeless and helpless among the surrounding villages, celebrating the rites of their order in obscurity and poverty. Some of the buildings had, however, been repaired, and to some extent the old splendour of the abbey had been restored, under the abbacy of James Stuart, the natural son of James V. Once more it was an institution of some importance. But Hertford brought its long history to a tragic close. On the 5th March 1545 he sat down with his troops and artillery before Kelso, and the town, which was entirely open, was speedily captured, but the abbey, which had

* Dalzell's *Fragments*, P. 9.

been fortified, "was bravely defended by the monks and their vassals, and held out against the Spanish mercenaries," until Hertford's ordnance effected a breach, through which the troops entered, and put the garrison to the sword.

It never recovered from this calamity. Its property and revenues were appropriated by the Scottish crown for State purposes, under a nominal commendator or abbot, who exercised no spiritual function, and in process of time the lay commendatory was converted into a temporal lordship, which is now represented by the Dukes of Roxburgh. Thus it came about that by military violence, one of the most illustrious of the Scottish monastic institutions of the Middle Ages was broken up and its vast property confiscated fully fifteen years before the reforming zeal of the year 1560 led to the closing of the other abbeys. The Barony of Duddingston, along with many others, owned for centuries by the Abbey of Kelso as feudal superior, reverted once more to the Crown, by whom it had in King David's time been gifted.

The death of Henry VIII. put a stop for a time to hostilities between the two countries. But the pet scheme of uniting the two kingdoms under one monarch and government by a marriage of his son with the Queen of Scots was as fondly cherished as before. Hertford, now Duke of Somerset, who had been appointed Protector of England during the minority of his nephew, Edward VI., as earnestly sought to carry out the policy of the deceased King; and with a view to enforcing performance of the marriage of the young King, he again equipped and led into Scotland a large army—September 1547. The demonstration was made by the East Coast, and was strongly supported by a large fleet, which arrived simultaneously in the Firth of Forth. Crippled and weakened as the Scots had been by the former invasion they were little able to cope with so formidable a force, but waited the approach of the invaders, and pitched their camp on the west side of the River Esk, about four miles from Edinburgh, close to Brunstane House, and between it and the town of Musselburgh. Somerset, whose progress along the coast had been uninterrupted, on learning that the Scots were assembled in force and prepared to dispute the passage of the Esk, encamped to the east of Musselburgh near the shore, in close communication with his ships, and afterwards took possession of the high ground above Inveresk, immediately below the old Castle of

Fawside—the ruins of which may still be seen on the top of the hill.

The Scottish army, under the Earls of Huntly, Arran, and Angus, after a temporary success, was utterly defeated, and broke up into detached parties. Some fled to Dalkeith, keeping the south side of the Esk; some along the shores of the Firth of Forth by Magdalene Bridge, over the sand hills and bent of the "Figgate Whins," as far as the "Ficket" or Figgate Burn, where they turned off to Restalrig by the old Roman road, now vulgarly called the Fishwives' Causeway, to Leith; but the greater part having crossed the Esk above Musselburgh, fled straight to Edinburgh, through their camp at Brunstane, by way of Easter and Wester Duddingston, some getting into the "street of the canons," or Canongate, past Holyrood; but a larger number apparently taking the south side of Arthur Seat, through the village of Wester Duddingston and the pass called the "Windy Gowl," between the village and "Samson's Ribs;" the English horsemen pursuing and butchering the helpless fugitives in all directions up to the very gates of the city. No quarter was given, and before the chase was ended 14,000 were slain, the Esk ran with blood, and the ground for five miles round was covered with dead and dying. Old Patten's account, if rather quaint and grim, is very circumstantial. . . . "And thus with blood and slaughter of ye enemie this chase was continued v miles in length westward from ye place of their standynge, which was in ye fallow feldes of Undreske, until Edinborow Parke, and well nye to the gates of the toune itself, and unto Leith, and in breadth nie iiii myle, from the Fryth Sandes up towarde Daketh southwarde. In all which space the dead bodyes lay as thik as a man may note cattell grasing in a full plenished pasture;" "and what with weapons, arms, hands, legs, hedds, blood, and dead bodyes the flight of the Scots might be easily tracked."

Thus ended the fatal Battle of Pinkie, one of the most disastrous defeats the Scots ever sustained.

On Sunday, the 11th, the English General struck his camp at Musselburgh, and proceeded with his whole force towards Leith. Crossing the Esk, a visit was made to the Scotch camp (now deserted) between Newhailes and Brunstane, which old Patten with all his English ideas of comfort, seemed to consider very sorry quarters indeed. Their tents, something like those used by Scot-

tish gipsies of the present day, were made of canvas sheets, not very large and not very tight, and a poor covering against the weather. "Howbeit," he says, "when they had lyned them and stuft them so thick with straw, that ye weather, as it was not very cold, when they were once couched, thai were as warme as thai had been wrapt in horse-dung!" Continuing, he says, "this, the plot of their campe, was called Edmiston Edge, nie Gilberton, a place of the Lorde of Brimstons, half-a-mile beyond [*i.e.*, west of] Muskelboorowe, and iiii. mile on this (or east) side of Edenborowe, and occupied in largeness with divers tents and tenticles, that stood in sundry partes out of square about a mile in cumpas."

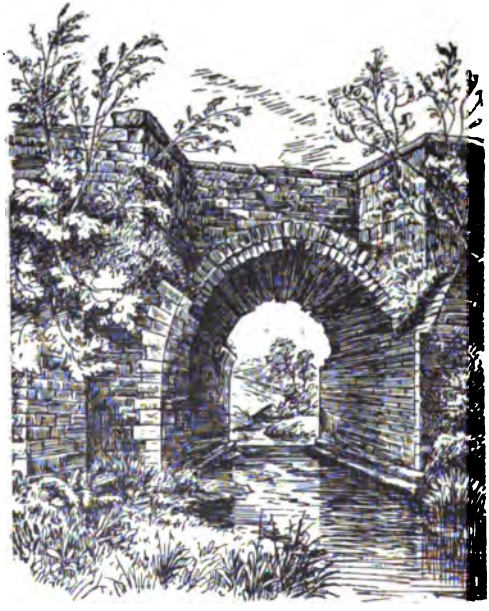
Whether Gilberton, or Brunstane House (the name by which it is now known) was visited and plundered, we are not informed. In all probability it did not escape the attentions of the English troops, but at all events it seems that the course of the army through the parish of Duddingston was on this occasion by way of Magdalene Bridge and "along the Fryth side straight toward Leith," which they occupied.

After some desultory warfare, in which he took possession of the coast towns, and the fortified Islands of Inchcolme and Inchgarvie, the Duke was compelled by political events in England to evacuate the country before he could reap any decided advantage from his conquest. Edinburgh continued to hold out, and after some negotiations, in which Crichton, the Laird of Brunstane, took a prominent part, with a view to implementing the arrangement for the marriage of Mary, the youthful Queen of Scots, with Edward VI., and which were no more successful than before, the English commenced their retreat on Sunday, 18th September, but not before they had set fire to the town of Leith, with the shipping in the harbour, and among other damage had sacked the Abbey of Holyrood, and stripped it of its lead roof.

The route taken by the retreating army of Somerset into England was somewhat different from that by which he had come. This time he chose the road leading by Dalkeith and Soutra, through the Passes of the Lammermoors, to Lauder, and so by Roxburgh and Kelso into Northumberland, which he reached after five days' march. On their start from Leith, and in order to keep clear of the guns of Edinburgh Castle, which fired some shots after them, they would first take the road to Restalrig, and

then proceed by the road now called the Fishwives' Causeway, the Figgate Burn, then further along the shore to a point a little west of where Joppa now stands, where the army was divided, one portion going on by Musselburgh and Inveresk, while the other turned inland to Brunstane Bridge, keeping straight south along the old so-called Roman road, portions of which may be still traced as at Shawfair Farm and at Campend, where it joins the main road to Edinburgh at the Roman Camp near to Eskbank.

It is highly probable that after the bridge at Brunstane had been passed by the army it was partly destroyed by Somerset's orders, in order to impede the progress of a pursuing army, should the Scots think of harassing the rear. The bridge, supposed by some to have been erected during the Roman occupation (though with this opinion we cannot agree) had been well built, and it would be no easy matter to demolish it. Considerable force seems to have been used to effect this purpose, but after the parapet on each side, with some of the outside mason work, had been thrown down and a hole broken through in the crown of the arch, the main part of the arch still remained, though in a dismantled condition, which made it all but impassable, except for foot passengers. In this state it seems to have remained for many years. From the Privy Council Records of 1575 it appears that the executors of Abraham Crichton, Provost of Dunglass, Andrew and George Crichton were in that year enjoined to pay 200 merks to repair the Bridge of Cramond and



BRUNSTANE BRIDGE.

Magdalene Bridge, "the ane being already renewyit, and the uther in dangeare of falling gif it be not speedilie helpit." This may refer to the lower bridge on the same burn near to the sea, the probability being that Brunstane Bridge was not restored until about 1639, on the rebuilding of Brunstane House. Our illustration shows the reconstructed bridge as it now stands; the arch and parapet being considerably within the original limits of the structure, admitting indeed of less than half of the original roadway. Both before and after the bridge was crossed by the English as they "marched sowth-east from the Fryth into ye landward," old Patten mentions the fact that they found the most part of the corpses of those who had been slain in the Scottish retreat from Pinkie, "lying very rufully with ye colour of their skynnes changed greenish about ye place they had been smitten in."

Though this most disastrous invasion only lasted twenty-five days, it inflicted upon an unoffending people an amount of suffering and misery out of all proportion to the occasion of the war, and all within a radius of four miles of our parish. No less than 15,300 men, it is said, were killed, 2000 maimed, and 1500 taken prisoners in order to gratify national revenge, and to force a marriage of the English King with the young Queen Mary of Scots.

On the day before they left Leith negotiations for a peace had been conducted by Crichton of Brunstane, who appears to have acted as ambassador or plenipotentiary to the English camp. In Patten's * account of the expedition occurs the following entry (which so far as we can see has not found its way into any history of the times):—"The Laird of Brunston, a Skottish gentleman, who came to my Lordes Grace from their [the Scotch] Counsell for caus of communicatioun bilyke, returned again to them, having with him Norrey an herauld and king of armes of ours; who found them with ye olde Quene at Sterlyng, a toun standyng westward upon ye Firth a xx mile beyond Edinborowe." Without waiting to conclude the negotiations, and before hearing the Scots Regent's reply, Somerset hastened his departure, and reached Lauder on Monday, the 19th September, "at the which as we had indede no friendly enterteynment so had

* W. Patten was conjoint judge-marshal of the English army along with the celebrated William Cecil.

we no envious resistance, for there was nobody at home." The same person afterwards overtakes them with a message from the Council. "Here also," he says, "as we were settled, our heraulde, Norrey, returned from the Skottis Counsell, with ye Laird of Brunston, and Roze, their heraulde, who upon their suit to my Lordes Grace, obteyned that v of their Counsell shoolde have his Grace's safecundet, that at any tyme and place within fifteen dayes durynge our abode in theyr countrey, or at Berwicke, the same v might cum and commen (commune) with v of our Counsell touching the matters bitwene vs."

Nothing came of it, however. Somerset once well out of the country, the Convention of Scottish nobles mèt at Stirling with the Queen Dowager, and determined to provide for the personal safety of the young Queen by sending her to France.

The period of the young Queen's minority was one of great advances in public opinion. Religious reform and greater freedom in political matters began to assert themselves. Constitutional government was struggling with tyrannical privilege, and although the people had the nobility on their side, the despotism of the Court did not yield without a severe conflict.

The year 1559 saw matters brought to a crisis. The immediate cause of the troubles of the time was no doubt to be found in the rising zeal for religious freedom, and a growing hatred of the rule of the Romish priesthood, through the preaching of John Knox and the other reformers. All classes were alike stirred, and liberty to read the word of God and to have the services in the churches conducted in the "vulgar tongue" were openly demanded and enforced. Mary of Guise, the widow of James V. and mother of the young Queen Mary, as Regent, found herself in opposition to many of her lords, and with all a woman's conservatism and a Frenchwoman's religious intolerance, fiercely resisted the rising tide of Protestantism. French soldiers were brought over, and garrisoned the principal towns and castles, and in spite of the remonstrances and petitions of the Lords of the Congregation, violent measures were taken for the suppression of the ministers of the new faith. This led to an open rupture, in which many of the nobility sided with the people, and asserting their authority, took the capital by force.

Unable to withstand them, the Queen Mother retired to Leith, which she fortified, leaving the Lords of the Congregation in pos-

session of Edinburgh. In the memorable siege of Leith the Scottish Lords were assisted by auxiliaries sent by Queen Elizabeth from England, who encamped in the neighbourhood of Restalrig. The French troops made frequent sorties from the town, and many petty skirmishes took place between the opposing forces. Crichton, Laird of Brunstane, the Laird of Ormiston, and other lairds in the neighbourhood having taken an active part against the Queen Regent, an attempt was made to inflict upon them personal retaliation. Crichton's house at Brunstane being near at hand, an attack was ordered to be made upon it, and on the 6th November 1559 a large force of French troops sallied out of Leith in order to harry the place with fire and sword. But the Lords of the Congregation being advised of their purpose "came furth of Edinburgh upon thame, and met thame beside Restalrig, quhair it was cruellie skirmischit and fochten by the space of thrie houris continowallie."* Although the French, having the best of this engagement, succeeded for the time in compelling the Lords to evacuate Edinburgh, and might easily have accomplished the purpose for which they originally set out, Brunstane was spared, and its enemies retired to their fortifications at Leith once more to assume the defensive.

In March 1560 another strong force of English was sent by the east coast to assist the Scottish Lords in their struggle with the Queen Regent. On the 6th April they raised their camp from Preston and came in great order of war to Restalrig, along the shore road through the parish of Duddingston, on the confines of which they were met by four companies of French, with the intention of preventing a junction between them and the Scottish troops. They were, however, unsuccessful in their purpose, and were completely overset by the light horsemen of the Scotch and English; forty of their number being slain and one hundred taken prisoners. Of the English, it is said, only two were slain and several hurt, "and thereafter the Englishmen campit about the kirk of Restalrig and place thereof and caist thair trenches." The next day the warships and transports which had accompanied the army—keeping it in sight along the coast—came in close to shore at the mouth of the "Ficket Burn," where we are told by the same contemporary chronicler, "the Inglish landit thair greit artailzerie and ordinance."

* *Diurnal of Occurrants*, P. 54.

It is with something of amusement that in these days of ironclads, rams, and floating batteries, we picture to ourselves an English fleet making for the insignificant estuary of the Figgate Burn, for the purpose of debarkation either of troops or artillery! The harbour thus selected could not have been either deep or capacious, but being the nearest point to Leith where a safe landing could be effected; "the artailzerie and ordinance" would likely be brought ashore at full tide, or they may have beached the ships at low water and carted the artillery over the sands. These, we are told, consisted of "twelve great doubill and singill cannonis, and fyftene small pecis, quhilkis thai brocht to land, togedder with powder and munitioun." * After this accession of strength the position of the besieged town, or of its defenders, grew more desperate. Repeated sallies were made by the French, but the besiegers gradually gained upon the town. On 30th April, after one of these sallies, a large part of Leith was burned. On the 10th June the Queen Regent died, and, three weeks after, the French officers agreed to surrender the place on their being allowed to leave the country. On the 15th July the French troops embarked for France; Leith Fort and the wall of the town were demolished; while the English army once more retraced their steps homeward, returning as they had come, through "the Ficket" lands, to Musselburgh, and so along the coast to England. We are not told whether the "twelve great doubill and fifteen small pieces quhilk thai brocht to land," were re-embarked at "the Ficket" or not. In all probability they were not, the more capacious harbour of Leith being now at their disposal.

For a time, the strife and warfare which had distracted the country came to an end. The return, in 1561, of the Queen brought a gleam of sunshine and hope for a more peaceful and happier era. It was, however, short lived. The story of Mary Queen of Scots need not be told here. If ever a Sovereign was the plaything of fortune, that Sovereign was Mary. Her lot was a melancholy one. Cast on a time when contending political and religious forces were waging a deadly conflict, she was little able to cope with the rising spirit of the age. A man of strong will and firmness, either to oppose or guide, was required; and where such a one might hardly have kept his seat, it was scarcely to be expected that a young, light-hearted girl, would succeed. Her

* *Diurnal of Occurrants*, P. 275.

reign was a miserable failure, and a continual series of outrages, rebellions, and usurpations of power on the part of the nobility marked the few years during which she was Queen.

Nor did her escape to England after the fatal Battle of Langside bring the distracted country peace. Queen Mary, a close prisoner in England, under her "dear cousin" Elizabeth, had many friends in Scotland, who did all they could for the recovery of her freedom, and restoration to power. But by bribery and connivance with the successive Regents, Murray, Lennox, Mar, and Morton, the unscrupulous Elizabeth succeeded in upholding the nominal authority of the young king, to the exclusion of his mother, and eventually brought that unhappy sovereign to the scaffold. Still, about the year 1571, Queen Mary's party were strong, for the north of Scotland acknowledged her authority; while the Castle of Edinburgh was held by Kirkcaldy of Grange on her behalf, and that of Dumbarton by her friend Lord Fleming.

The Regent Mar attempted to reduce Edinburgh, but in vain. After an active siege of nine days he was compelled to fall back upon Leith. Not even the threats and promises of Queen Elizabeth could induce Grange to give up the Castle; and baffled in her wishes, she set herself to her favourite policy of fomenting dissension, and, as one contemporary writer tells us, "never perhaps did any country exhibit to the world such a scene of public and private cruelty and misery as Scotland did during the winter and spring of 1571-72. In the open country as well as in the capital, and in every town and village throughout the kingdom, civil war raged with the most relentless fury. Castles, towns, and villages were beleagured, and committed to the flames; men of opposite factions, as if possessed with the demon of destruction, butchered each other with the most savage ferocity."* The victims of the gibbet were hurried to death in parties of forty or fifty at a time. With a view to starve the capital into surrender the Earl of Morton had ordered all the mills in the neighbourhood of the city to be destroyed, and interdicted all persons from supplying provisions. Many countrymen, and even women, were hanged on the spot, or scourged and branded on the cheek with hot irons, for attempting to smuggle goods into it.

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office.

With the Regent's forces in Leith, and Grange holding Edinburgh for the Queen, the encounters were frequent and sanguinary, and the inhabitants of Edinburgh, who were in great straits for provisions, "left nothing in the samyn untransportit that mycht be transportit thairfra," and they were prohibited resorting to Leith under pain of death. The Regent's party, on the other hand, held the Canongate and Holyrood, which were without the city walls, and street fights were consequently of common occurrence. In order to dislodge them from this neighbourhood, Grange opened a battery in Black Friars' Yard "to ding the Palice of Holyrudhous thairwith," "but the samyn did little or na hurt." Meanwhile provisions became both dear and scant, and attempts to bring victuals into the city were opposed by the scouts of the Regent's party, who had the command of the roads.

As East Lothian then supplied much of the agricultural produce required in the capital, grain, salt, beef, and mutton were brought thence under armed escort, and the open wild country between Musselburgh and the city, comprehending the whole of the parish of Duddingston, both landward and by the shore, was the frequent scene of skirmishes and slaughter. One or two such may be instanced from the *Diurnal of Occurrants* already quoted: —"Upon the 18th day of June thair cam fra Nydrie Wester xvi. laid of meill to Edinburgh quhilk was brocht be the laird of Lochinvaris servands against thair will, thair sauld for ix. shillings the peck. The same day the horsemen of Edinburgh brocht thereto seven score and twelve scheip, young and auld, quhilk was delt amangst the horsemen and futemen." "At twa hours in the morning thair cam to Edinburgh fra West Nydrie ii. laids of meill, quhilk was put in the Tolbuyth to make mercat of." Upon the 12th of May "there was twa men and ane woman hangit in Wester Edmonstoun for bringing of leikis and salt to Edinburgh." This, it is mentioned, was done without advise of the Lords. Upon the 10th day of December 1571, the soldiers of the nobility holding Edinburgh for the Queen, came on the Burgh Moor beside the Figgate Burn, between it and the Abbey of Holyrood, to wait for victuals and "coillis" expected to come to the town; but the Regent's forces in Leith, to the number of 500 footmen and 200 horsemen, came through the pass called the Windy Gowl, between Duddingston Loch and Arthur Seat, close to the village of Duddingston, "where thai had bene all the nycht

befoir," and a violent encounter took place between the latter and a detachment of the former, in which four men were killed and about seventy wounded.

This desultory warfare continued for some months, and much damage both to life and property was the result, without any apparent advantage to either side. On the 10th of May, 1572, what may be called a battle, in which the Earl of Morton played a prominent part, took place near to Duddingston. A large force had been sent out from Leith on the morning of this day, commissioned to attack the Castle of Niddrie in Haddingtonshire, then a place of considerable strength, belonging to Lord George Seton. He was one of the Queen's party, and had not only continued to supply Edinburgh with provisions from that county, but with the soldiers under his command kept up a harassing warfare against the Regent. Morton determined to attack and destroy Seton's stronghold, and proceeded by Restalrig and the road to the Figgate Burn in the direction of Musselburgh, but scarcely had they got this length when a large party under the Earl of Huntly sallied out of Edinburgh and began to plunder the Castles of Merchiston and Braid, driving off a considerable number of cattle to the town. In the afternoon, the Regent's troops being advised of what was going on, retraced their steps from Musselburgh in order to check this outbreak, and made their way with all speed by Easter and Wester Duddingston to the south side of Arthur Seat, passing through the "Windy Gowl" to the Burghmuir. Elated with their success, the soldiers of Huntly at once attacked the Regent's troops, and chased them back through the "Windy Gowl" into Duddingston, and with a view to improve their advantage, and get between the Regent's men and their supplies at Leith, they retraced their steps, and entering the suburbs near St Leonard's, passed down St Mary's Wynd towards the Calton Hill to get betwixt them and Leith. Presently, however, the main



THE WINDY GOWL.

body of Morton's troops appeared upon the scene attacking them most resolutely, and the Edinburgh, or Queen's men, finding them too many "incontinent thairefter gaif bakes [turned their backs] and fled, castand thair wappinis fra thame, for haist to win the toun of Edinburgh." In this day's fighting, we are told, "their wes sum slauchter on baith syddis," while the Earl of Huntly had a narrow escape, his horse being killed under him by a shot from the Palace of Holyrood House. Such are a few instances, doubtless out of many, if all had been recorded, in which the parish of Duddingston must have been involved in bygone troublous times.

Eighty years after the incidents last recorded, we have some curious episodes in the military career of Oliver Cromwell in our neighbourhood, which are not unworthy of being mentioned in this connection.

After the execution of Charles I., when Cromwell had assumed the Protectorate of England, the Scots, true to their allegiance to the Stuart race, had proclaimed his son Charles II. as King, 15th July 1650. Cromwell at once invaded Scotland to possess himself of the capital, and compel the northern kingdom to concur in the republic he had established. The Scots resented this attempt at dictation, and equipped a strong army under General Leslie to oppose the march of the "Usurper." Cromwell, like many before him, advanced into the country by way of the East Coast, by Berwick, Dunbar, Musselburgh, and through the parish of Duddingston into the open country east of Edinburgh. The Scottish army under Leslie was, however, too strongly entrenched between Edinburgh and Leith for him to risk an attack, flanked as it was by the fortifications of Leith and by batteries on the Calton Hill. Cromwell advanced towards his lines and tried every expedient to draw him out to action, but Leslie with his position at "Bruchton Village" (now a part of Edinburgh), his right wing resting upon the eastern slope of Salisbury Crags and Arthur Seat, while his left wing was posted at Leith, remained resolutely on the defensive. He was well aware that his army, though superior in numbers, was greatly inferior in discipline to the English, and that his raw levies were unable to encounter the veteran troops of Cromwell. He therefore prudently avoided a battle, and by frequent skirmishes tried to confirm the courage of his soldiers, and to harass and wear out the enemy. The English made an attack upon Arthur Seat, which was partly successful,

"but upon the whole," says Cromwell, "we did find that their army were not easily to be attempted. Whereupon we lay still all the said day at Niddry near Duddingston, which proved to be so sore a day and night of rain as I have seldom seen, and greatly to our disadvantage—the enemy having enough to cover them and we nothing at all considerable. In the morning, the ground being very wet, and our provisions scarce, we resolved to draw back to our quarters at Musselburgh, there to refresh and revictual." According to Oliver's despatch, dated from Musselburgh, 30th July 1650, the retreat of this day seems to have consisted of a series of skirmishes over the Figgate Moor, in which sometimes the one side and sometimes the other had the advantage. "The enemy," he says, "when we drew off fell upon our rear, and put them into some little disorder; but our bodies of horse being in some readiness came to grapple with them, where indeed there was a gallant and hot dispute, the enemy drawing out great bodies to second their first affront. Our men charged them up to the very trenches, and beat them off. . . . We marched off to Musselburgh, but they dared not send out a man to trouble us"—much to their relief no doubt, as they "were tired and wearied for want of sleep, and so dirty by reason of the wetness of the weather."*

Cromwell having tried every military stratagem to bring the Scottish general into action, and being foiled in his attempt to force his lines on the east of the capital, abandoned the open moorland and sand downs of Duddingston parish for a time. A detour was made to the south-west by way of the Braid Hills, Colinton, and Redhall, to a strong position on the eastern extremity of the Pentland Hills, where he threatened an advance on Edinburgh, and attempted to cut off Leslie's supplies from Stirling and the west. But Leslie, perceiving his intention, immediately quitted his intrenched camp, and took up a new position to the westward, protected by the Water of Leith and mill-lades at Saughton and Coltbridge. On Tuesday, 27th October, both armies marched to the vicinity of Gogar, but after a distant cannonade the English, finding that they could not dislodge the Scots, were compelled to withdraw next day to the Braid Hills, and thence to their camp at Musselburgh. On their way to the latter place Cromwell planted a battery of guns at Niddrie, but the Scots

* *Common's Journals*, Vol. VI., P. 451.

having followed them round the south side of Arthur Seat towards Craigmillar, also planted there some guns against those in Niddrie. This latter battery of the Scotch general must have been immediately to the south of the village of Duddingston, probably in the neighbourhood of the policy of Duddingston House, while the main body of his troops was "drawn up on Arthur Seat, on the morrow morning, looking on amid the rain, and not attempting anything."* Cromwell's own account says that the enemy wished to interpose between him and his supplies of victuals, "they knowing it was spent; but the Lord in mercy prevented it, and we, perceiving in the morning, got, time enough, through the goodness of the Lord, to the seaside to revictual." Among the bent and sand hills of the Figgate whins he would have drier camping ground, and was there in immediate communication with his headquarters at Musselburgh.

It was while these unsuccessful attempts were being made by Oliver Cromwell, tradition reports a circumstance, which is confirmed by the more respectable authority of private letters, that before he retired to Dunbar, and fought the battle which afterwards gave him the command of the capital and the southern part of the country, the leaders of the Scots demanded a conference with the English Protector. Cromwell consented to meet them on the morrow, half way between Musselburgh and Leith rocks, on the beautiful level beach now called Portobello sands. The meeting, it is said, took place at low water, probably about the spot now occupied by the Promenade Pier, each party being accompanied with a hundred horsemen. Any question the Scots Commissioners might choose to propose Cromwell agreed to answer, so far as he was able, but declined entering into an argument, or admitting of any animadversion or reply. A curious but interesting sight it must have been, to see those representatives of Monarchy and Republicanism, of Scotland and the Parliament of England, as they galloped from east and west to confer with each other on that bare lone shore, with the sand hills and bent on the one side, and the softly rippling waters of the Forth on the other! We may be sure the conference would not be a long one. The man who had the courage to strike down the King, and afterwards to dismiss the Parliament of England by locking the door in their face, when they presumed to question his authority, was

* *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Thos. Carlyle, Vol. III., P. 33.

not the man to stand parleying for any length of time on the beach of Portobello with men who refused to acknowledge his government!

A part of this curious but unsuccessful conference is reported to have been in these words—"Why did you put the King to death?" "Because," said Oliver, "he was a tyrant, and deserved death." "Why did you dissolve Parliament?" said the Commissioners; "because," he replied, "they were greater tyrants than the King, and required dissolution."*

** Statistical Account.*



OLD ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH, INVERESK.

CHAPTER X.

THE REBELLION OF 1745—PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD IN EDINBURGH—THE CAMP AT DUDDINGSTON.



PERHAPS few of the stirring events of Scottish history have contributed more of the romantic and poetic, than the adventurous and bold attempt of Prince Charles Edward, in 1745, to recover the throne of his fathers. The story of the "Forty-five" has been often told, and by none with greater effect than Sir Walter Scott in his famous novel of *Waverley*, where the leading incidents of the history are graphically described. Then it has been the theme of whole volumes of Jacobinical poesy and song, which have long been, and will continue to be popular in our national literature.

With the details of this romantic and ultimately unfortunate attempt, we do not intend to deal further than it pertains to our local history. Suffice it to say, that having landed in Moidart, on the wild western coast of Inverness, on 19th July 1745, with a few followers, the Prince threw himself on the loyalty of the clans, and these, gathering as they went, advanced on the south country by steady marches. The English General (Cope) sent to oppose him, either through cowardice, or a mistaken idea of his opponent's strength, allowed himself to be out-manœuvred, and while he retired to Inverness, the Prince with his daily-increasing army of Highlanders, found his passage to the south practically open and unopposed.

Passing the River Forth at the Ford of Frew, eight miles above Stirling, he pushed on towards Edinburgh by way of Falkirk and Linlithgow, and on the morning of the 17th September he found himself with his highly-elated troops within four hours' march of the capital. Edinburgh, thanks to the dash of Lochiel with a small body of followers, and the want of organisation in the city, fell an easy prey to the invaders.

The news of their success having been sent to the Prince at Slateford, the main body of the army was at once put in motion at an early hour, and marched towards the city, taking care to keep out of reach of the Castle guns. With the assistance of guides, Charles made a circuit to the south of Edinburgh by the Braid Hills. Debouching upon the open or turnpike road near Morningside, and turning towards the city he reached a sequestered cross-road, which turns off to the east by the House of Grange, and completely precludes the view of city or Castle. Having conducted his army along this road, he crossed the Newington and Dalkeith Roads, and entered the King's Park from the grounds of Prestonfield House, making a breach in the wall between the Gibbet Loan and the "Wells o' Wearie" in order to admit his troops. Here they found themselves face to face with scenery which must have recalled to many of these rough Highlanders recollections of the mountain fastnesses they had left behind. On the right was the bold outline of Samson's Ribs, while in front towered the high precipices of Salisbury Crags, and the rugged sides of Arthur's Seat. Leaving his troops about noon in the Hunter's Bog—a deep valley at the back of Salisbury Crags, where they were beyond the fire of the Castle—the Prince rode forward with the Duke of Perth on the one hand, and Lord Elcho on the other, and a great number of noblemen and gentlemen following. Reaching the knoll under St Anthony's Well he came for the first time within sight of the palace of his fathers, the old Palace of Holyrood House, and here he dismounted surveying the animated and historic scene before him, with feelings no doubt of veneration and pride.

A large crowd had assembled of all ranks and persuasions of people, friends, as well as foes, anxious to see the leader of this strange invasion, some to give him a welcome, but many out of mere curiosity. His entry took the form of a triumphal procession, and it has been described by the journalist in the Lockhart papers to have been one in which the dramatic and the romantic equally mingled. "He came to the Royal Palace of the Abbey of Holyrood House amidst a vast crowd of spectators, who from town and country flocked together to see this uncommon sight, expressing their joy and surprise together by long and loud huzzas. Indeed the whole scene was rather like a dream, so quick and amazing seemed the change, though no doubt,"

he says, "wise people saw well enough we had much to do still."

The *Caledonian Mercury* and the *Evening Courant* were the only two newspapers published in the city at that time. Both of them were small sheets (quarto) of four and occasionally of eight pages with two columns of news or other matter on each page, and were published three times a week. The *Courant*, being violently hostile to the insurgents, was in consequence suppressed as soon as the Prince had taken possession of the capital, but the *Mercury* being enthusiastically Jacobite continued all through the occupation to give full particulars of the Prince's movements, and we have been enabled to gather some interesting particulars from its pages. In the first publication after the occupation of Edinburgh, viz., in that of date 18th September, we have the following:—"Affairs in this city and neighbourhood have taken a most surprising turn since yesterday, without the least bloodshed or opposition, so that we have now in our streets Highlanders and bagpipes in place of dragoons and drums." Then after a detailed account of the various movements and the seizure of the town as already narrated, they go on to say:—"All the Highlanders behaved most civilly and discreetly, paying cheerfully for what they had got, and continue so to do." Not more than about one thousand men kept guard within the walls, "all the rest of the infantry, to the number of about five thousand, remained encamped in the King's Park." So far as can now be made of the various descriptions given by eye-witnesses, it would appear as if this body of men had at first been divided into various companies occupying various positions round Arthur's Seat. One, perhaps the largest body, lay near to the Palace in the defile below Salisbury Crags; another seems to have occupied the high ground on the hill overlooking Duddingston village, near to Dunsappie Loch; while another was in or about the village itself. With a view no doubt to preserve discipline and prevent the Highlanders getting into dissipation, or creating disturbance in the city, the greater part were in the course of the next two or three days concentrated in the camp at Duddingston, which occupied the level ground immediately to the east of the village.* It must be borne in mind that the ground occupied by the Highlanders on this memorable occasion has been considerably altered. At that time the deer park of

* *New Statistical Account.*

Duddingston had not been formed, nor had Duddingston House been built, and where now we see beautifully wooded glades and enclosed gardens and parks there was for the most part an uncultivated common, with here and there an enclosed corn field. On this plain, stretching along to the burn side, within what is now the Duddingston House policy between Duddingston Mill and the village, the Highlanders had their camp, and awaited the next move of their chiefs.

Three days of rest had meanwhile increased in no inconsiderable degree the strength and confidence of the Highland army. Learning that General Cope had landed at Dunbar and was to march to the relief of Edinburgh, the Prince came on Thursday evening to Duddingston, where calling a council of war he proposed to march next morning, the 20th September, in order, if possible, to meet the enemy half way. The council agreed that this was the only thing they could do, and preparations were



HOUSE AT DUDDINGSTON WHERE THE PRINCE RESIDED.

made accordingly. Instead of going back to the Palace the Prince took up his quarters for the night in the vicinity of his followers, and slept in one of the houses in the village. For many years a two-storied house with small windows, very near to Duddingston Park on the east side of the village, used to be pointed out to visitors as the one which was honoured as the

abode of the last of the Stuart line on this memorable occasion. It bore on its front a large sign with a full length portrait of the Prince in highland costume, and as a public-house it was doubtless resorted to by many credulous visitors as the veritable lodging of the Prince. About twenty-five years ago the licence was taken from the house, and it ceased to be a tavern, and ultimately the portrait, having served its purpose as a sign, was taken down. The same sign, we have been told, had previously adorned the front of another house about fifty yards nearer the hill, which was pointed out by old residenters as the actual residence. Sir Walter Scott, in the account he gives of the incidents of the Rebellion in *Waverley*, describes the march of the Highlanders as beginning nearer to the city, quite close to the Palace; for the hero of the novel is roused from his slumbers in Mrs Flockhart's lodgings on that morning by the sound of Callum's brogues in his apartment, and that worthy shouting out—"Winna yere bang up, yer honour? Vich Ian Vohr and ta Prince are awa to the lang green glen ahint the clachan, tat they ca' the King's Park, and mony ane's on their ain shanks the day that will be carried on ither folk's ere night."

The army is represented as "forming itself here in a narrow and dusky column of great length, stretching through the whole extent of the valley," and amid the scene of confusion, caused by the various clans and regiments getting into position, "Waverley gazed upon this remarkable spectacle, rendered yet more impressive by the occasional discharge of cannon shot from the Castle at the Highland guards as they were withdrawn from its vicinity to join their main body." It will be seen that this is not at all inconsistent with what we have stated; though Sir Walter is doubtless in error in representing the Prince as leading them from the King's Park, when it is evident he was at Duddingston. We may take it that the force the hero of the novel saw, "as they wheeled round the base of Arthur's Seat, under the remarkable ridge of basaltic rocks which fronts the little lake of Duddingstone," was only the rear-guard of the Prince's army, who had occupied the different posts in the city, and now joined their commander and comrades at Duddingston.

On the morning of this 20th of September the whole body was put in motion for the march. They had been reinforced since daybreak by a party of Grants from Glenmorriston, as they had

been the day before by some Maclauchlans and Athole men. The Prince, putting himself at the head of his army, thus increased by 250, presented his sword, and said aloud, "My friends, I have thrown away the scabbard!" He was answered with a loud cheer; and the band then set forward in three files, Charles marching on horseback by their side, along with some of his principal officers. The army proceeded from Duddingston by the road which passes through Easter Duddingston. This road, after passing through the latter village, enters the post road from Edinburgh to London near to Magdalene Bridge, but it may here be noted that after passing through Easter Duddingston the road at that time ran somewhat south of the deep cutting over the ridge of the hill—the cutting and new road being made in 1844. The old road may be traced along the top of the steep bank within the Glen Nurseries, and traces of it have been found in the centre of the Portobello Cemetery. Robert Chambers, in his *History of the Rebellion*, mentions a reminiscence of an elderly lady, Mrs Handyside, probably the wife of the village schoolmaster, that when she was a girl she remembered seeing the Highlanders passing through Easter Duddingston. "The Highlanders," she said, "strode on with their squalid clothes and various arms, their rough limbs and uncombed hair, looking round them with an air of fierce resolution. The Prince rode amidst his officers at a little distance from the flank of the column, preferring to amble over the dry stubble fields beside the road," his graceful carriage and comely looks, his long light hair straggling below his neck, and the flap of his tartan coat thrown back by the wind, so as to make the jewelled St Andrew dangle for a moment clear in the air by its silken ribbon, making him the centre of attraction to all spectators. The simple villagers viewed him, we are told, with admiration, and even those who were ignorant of his claims, or who rejected them, could not help wishing him good fortune, or at least no calamity.*

We need not follow in detail the events of this and the succeeding day. Suffice it to say that after crossing the bridge at Musselburgh, and passing through the village of Newbigging, the Highlanders struck up to the rising ground, made memorable as the scene of the Battle of Pinkie, fought nearly two centuries before; and so proceeding along the hillside past Fawside Castle, they

* *History of the Rebellion*, Sixth Edition, Pp. 97, 98.

came in sight of General Cope's army between Tranent and Prestonpans.

The Battle of Prestonpans, fought on the following morning, in which the Royal troops received so severe a defeat, gave the cause of the Stuarts a wonderful impetus. The Prince's army after their victory returned to Edinburgh, the Cameron Highlanders actually re-entering the city some three hours after the battle, playing their bagpipes with might and main, and exhibiting with many marks of triumph, the colours taken from Cope's dragoons. On the following day, Sunday, 22nd September, the main body of the army made a triumphal entry, parading through the principal streets, with flags, cannon, prisoners, &c., the pipers playing the Cavaliers' air, "The King shall enjoy his own again." Charles himself did not accompany the procession, having spent the previous evening at Pinkie House with a number of his officers, but following up the rear arrived at Holyrood in the evening, where, we are told by the *Mercury*, "he was welcomed with the loudest acclamations of the people." He was now practically in possession of the country; excepting such fortresses as Edinburgh and Stirling Castles, but before it was possible for him to do more, it was necessary his small force of only two thousand men should be largely augmented. He therefore encamped his troops at Duddingston again, and taking up his own residence at Holyrood House, enjoyed for a short period the privileges of undisputed sovereignty, holding Court to all who now flocked to do him honour, giving balls to the Jacobite ladies of the city, visiting the camp at Duddingston nearly every day, reviewing his troops, stimulating their zeal, and improving their discipline and organisation.

At this time he did much to ingratiate himself with all parties, and was highly popular. His personal appearance was attractive, and he was careful to please national prejudices, while his humanity and personal kindness softened the rigour of a military Government. He ordered levies of money, horses, weapons, tents, &c., on Glasgow, Edinburgh, and on the Lothians, and succeeded in securing large supplies for the sustenance of the army. In the *Mercury* of 25th September, occurs the following paragraph, showing that up to this date the quarters of the men had not been *fully* equipped. "The tents, &c., furnished by this city to the army, were yesterday morning sent down to the

Abbey; these, with the tents taken from the enemy at the battle, will serve the whole army, so that they will encamp this night. They have also got a pretty park of artillery, which they are repairing and augmenting with diligence." On 27th September it is mentioned—"The army is encamped, or encamping, at Duddingston; are forming several troops of horse and light horse; and have sent into the country several detachments of horse and foot. His Royal Highness, whose robust and hardy constitution supports his natural inclination to fatigue and hardships, lay last night in a soldier's tent at the camp, preferring that tent to the Royal Palace of Holyrood House." In their next issue, 30th September, we have the following:—"The Prince's tent has been erected in the camp near Duddingston, where His Royal Highness lies every night wrapped up in his Highland plaid. He takes the utmost pleasure in reviewing his people, and is highly beloved by them."

The rebel camp at Duddingston after the return of the Highlanders from their victory at Prestonpans must have presented an animated scene. The equipment was certainly none of the best, but the sturdy northmen, accustomed to rough it in the open, thought nothing of discomforts. All were enthusiastic and hopeful, and with not a little military skill, measures were immediately taken by the Prince and his officers to organise their forces to the best advantage for the next important movement.

Several reviews are recorded as having taken place about this time, and every day fresh accessions of strength are noted—persons of distinction and many private gentlemen joining the army—while 800 horse were pressed into the service out of the county of Midlothian alone; so that by the end of October there was a force of about 6000 men; of which one half were composed of the Highland clans, and the other half of lowland troops under Lords Geo. Murray and Ogilvie, the Duke of Perth, Lord Nairn, Roy Stewart, Lord Elcho, Lord Balmerino, Lord Pitsligo, and the Earl of Kilmarnock. The reviews seem to have been held at different localities in the neighbourhood of Duddingston. On the 30th September the *Mercury* informs its readers that "there was yesterday a general review." On the 7th October His Royal Highness reviewed near Leith the troops brought up by the Right Hon. Lord Ogilvie; and the Hon. Major-General Gordon; on the 9th, in a despatch dated "from the Scots army at

Duddingston," it informs us "this afternoon the Prince reviewed that part of his army which is encamped here. His Royal Highness appeared in lowland dress. Before the review was over the Right Hon. Lord Pitsligo came into the camp from Linlithgow at the head of a squadron of horsemen, consisting of 132 knights, freeholders, and landed gentlemen, besides their servants, all extremely well mounted and accoutred. They are all gentlemen of experience, and are mostly above forty years of age. There came in at the same time six companies of foot, raised in the shire of Aberdeen by Lord Pitsligo. The Prince is about to form a regiment of light horse, composed of gentlemen, who are all to be habited in Highland costume. They continue beating up for recruits all over the neighbourhood, and as trade is at a stand, vast numbers come to enlist." "Yesternight," continues this report, "the Right Hon. Lord Ogilvie mounted guard upon his Royal Highness at the head of one hundred brave fellows of his regiment, colours flying and drums beating."

The Prince was a daily visitor at the camp, dividing the time between his duties at the Palace and among his followers with remarkable assiduity. During the whole of September of 1745 they were highly favoured with splendid weather, so fine, indeed, that as Home tells us the Highlanders could scarcely be persuaded to use their tents, but slept on the open ground. From the diary of one of the officers we have the following interesting memorandum of the Prince's movements when residing at Holyrood House:—"In the morning before the Council met, the Prince Regent had a levee of his officers, and other people who favoured his cause. Upon the rising of the Council, which often sat very long—for his councillors frequently differed in opinion with one another, and sometimes with him, he dined in public with his principal officers. After dinner, he rode out to Duddingston, to the camp. In the evening he returned to Holyrood House and received the ladies in his drawing-room. He then supped in public, and generally there was music at supper, and a ball afterwards;" but towards the end of the month he appears to have gone out nearly every evening to the camp, sleeping there, wrapped in his Highland plaid.

About the middle of October a change in the weather took place; it became stormy, cold, and wet, and quarters were found in and about the city for some of the troops, while active preparations were being made for a resumption of hostilities. Drill and

reviewing went on with great activity. From the *Scots' Magazine* of the day we learn further that "the Highland army, encamped at Duddingston, struck their tents, and seemed to be packing up their baggage on the 20th past; and their cannon, consisting of several pieces, were sent eastwards." On the 26th a portion of the army left Edinburgh and pitched a camp a little to the west of Inveresk Church, where they had a battery pointing to the south-west. Some days later they removed to a strong situation above Dalkeith, having that town on the left, the South Esk in front, the North Esk in rear, and an opening towards Polton on the right. With his largely-increased force, the Prince determined to take the bold step of invading England, full of sanguine hope that the Jacobites there would rise as one man and support him in his effort to wrest the Crown from the Hanoverian dynasty. The Government, now alive to the danger, had been meantime collecting large bodies of troops, while the Duke of Cumberland was sent for from Flanders, and put himself at the head of the Royal forces, with Marshal Wade as his lieutenant.

Orders were now given by Charles Edward to call in all the various parties which had been posted in different parts of the country, and arrangements were made for a general review of his whole force. On the morning of the 28th October, horsemen and infantry were marched with flying colours and pipes blowing in the direction of Leith Links—then a large uncultivated common, where it was intended the review should take place. It was soon found to be altogether unsuitable for the peaceful carrying through of military manœuvres without considerable hazard. For the Highlanders had not long got into position till a few well directed bombs from Edinburgh Castle threw them into such a consternation that it was deemed proper to remove to a greater distance.* Accordingly orders were given to march eastwards, and the whole force bent their way along the seashore. After a march of two miles, the army reformed on the beautiful level beach, extending from the mouth of the Figgate Burn to Joppa Rocks, a distance of a mile, and there concluded the inspection and review which the Castle bombs had so rudely disturbed. Portobello beach has been the scene of many reviews before and since, but perhaps none has ever exceeded in interest this last one of Prince Charles Edward on the eve of a campaign so romantic and yet so disas-

* *Boyse's Historical Review*, Vol. II., P. 95.

trous. It is admirably suited for accommodating a large body of men, especially at low tide, and for the carrying out of extensive military movements both by horse and foot. The soft sand is not, of course, suitable for heavy guns, but as we have seen, the artillery belonging to the Prince had already been sent on to Dalkeith, and we can well believe that the Highland clans and the southern horsemen combined would make a brave show as they passed in review before their young and gallant commander, with whose lofty aspirations they were in fervent sympathy.

At six o'clock on the evening of Thursday, the 31st of October, the Prince finally left the palace, and accompanied by his life guards rode by way of Jock's Lodge and along the King's highway, through the Figgate Whins, by Magdalene or Maitland Bridge, and Musselburgh, to Pinkie House. Having slept there that night, he rode next day at noon to Dalkeith, where he gave orders for the march of his army. With a view to deceive Marshal Wade as to the point at which he intended to enter England, he had previously sent orders for quarters to all the towns upon the road to Berwick, and despatched little companies of his men in various other directions. His actual resolution was to enter England by the western border, at once with the view of eluding the Royal army at Newcastle, and that he might gather the troops which he expected to come to his standard in Lancashire and Wales. The army was in the best possible condition, and was well provided with all the conveniences requisite for a deliberate campaign. The men were fresh by their long rest at Duddingston and Edinburgh, and were fairly well clothed and appointed. They carried with them provision for four days, and their baggage was carried by about 150 wains or carts, a large number of horses also carrying large baskets across their backs.

Thus departed the Highland host from Edinburgh, not, it may be supposed, without some bitter pangs in the hearts of the fair ones left behind to pray for the success of the Jacobite cause—the Flora M'Ivors, the Rose Braedwardins, and the honest Mrs Flockharts, whom Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley* has made familiar to all.

The city was completely evacuated, no guard being left behind to keep it for the Prince. To the loyal inhabitants this was doubtless a great relief, after six weeks of military rule; and the *Evening Courant*, which had been permitted to be published for a

week or two, joyfully gives utterance in its issue of 4th November to a deep-drawn sigh of relief by announcing—"We are now happily delivered from the Highland army."

The after movements of the rebels are well-known matters of history; the siege and taking of Carlisle, the successful invasion of England, until they reached the city of Derby; the retreat, the pursuit by the Duke of Cumberland, the occupation of Glasgow, the battle of Falkirk, with its temporary gleam of success; and finally the total collapse of the whole movement on the fatal field of Culloden—extinguishing for ever the hopes of the return of the house of Stuart to the throne of their fathers. With these our story has no further concern. Prince Charles never again returned to Edinburgh, either to dance with fair ladies in Holyrood, to camp with his brave followers at Duddingston, or to review them on the sands of Portobello.

CHAPTER XI.

DUDDINGSTON CHURCH.



HE Parish Church of Duddingston is of great antiquity, being probably the oldest piece of stonework in the parish. Like many such structures, it has, in the course of time, suffered much at the hands of ignorant meddlers and "restorers," who have rashly made such alterations as suited their convenience or purse without regard to architectural taste or consistency. As one authority well says :—"It has been terribly knocked about," and many features of the original have thus been ruthlessly obliterated. Nevertheless, let us be thankful that as a fabric it still survives the ravages of time, and the more dangerous hand of man; and that in its main features we have in our midst an interesting relic of the twelfth century.

As it at present stands the church consists of nave, chancel, aisle, and tower, the latter being at the west end of the nave, perched on a projecting cliff picturesquely overlooking the loch. The aisle, on the north side, was added in 1631 by Sir James Hamilton of Prestonfield, when the estate of Prestonfield adjoining the loch was severed from the parish of St Cuthbert's and added to Duddingston.

The main portion of the church is terminated on the east side by the chancel or choir, which is lower in the roof than the nave; finishing externally in crowsteps, and with a deep cornice adorned with grotesque heads in the Norman style, now very much defaced; while internally the chancel is separated from the nave by a fine Norman arch, supported on each side by three pillars. The west side of the nave also shows an arched recess under the tower, but without ornament of any kind. The original doorway on the south, close to the tower, has long been closed, having been built up in all probability when the Prestonfield aisle was erected. Since that time the worshippers have entered by a doorway in the north gable of the aisle, and by a small doorway on the south side

close to the chancel, while a door in the tower gives access to the small gallery there.

None of the windows are as originally built. They have all been enlarged for more light, and in the process, the old mullions, and possibly tracery, have been unceremoniously demolished, pointed arches with plain jambs being substituted. The tower appears to have suffered least, and is a good specimen of Norman work, terminating in a simple but effective cornice and parapet of pointed stones, similar to those which surmount the buttresses on the south. The buttresses and windows, which, it may be assumed, corresponded to those on the north side, have disappeared in the construction of the aisle, and in place of their deep recesses and tapering spirelets, we have a plain gable with three windows. The tracery in one is probably that of one of the original windows. Its counterpart in the others is modern.

In conformity with the ideas of the seventeenth century, and with a view to comfort, the whole of the interior had been plastered, walls and ceiling alike, covering up good stone work on the former, and the original open timber roof, which doubtless formed a feature of the building in the time of "Dodin" of that ilk. Luckily the fine Norman arch, separating the chancel from the nave, remains. Through the application of several centuries of whitewash, and the corroding hand of time, its carving has lost much of its sharpness, and so also has the carving over the south doorway; but enough remains to enable us to form some idea of the original beauty of the edifice.



DUDDINGSTON CHURCH.

Though subsequent alterations have tended to obliterate some of the prominent features of the Church, there can be no hesita-

tion in attributing its erection to the period immediately succeeding the revival of religious architecture in the time of Malcolm Canmore, and Queen Margaret. To that period belong Dunfermline Abbey, the oldest part of Holyrood Abbey, and the Churches of Corstorphine, Dalmeny, Ratho, Kirkliston, and St Margaret's Oratory in Edinburgh Castle, all of which exhibit features indicative of a common origin.

Some authorities have even indicated an earlier period than that for Duddingston. In the first statistical account of the parish mention is made of a visit paid by Dr Littleton, Bishop of Carlisle, in 1750, to the Lord of the Manor, when he concluded from the structure of the arches and style of ornaments, that the church must have been the work of the Saxons. In our own day Sir Daniel Wilson, as we shall afterwards see, also indicates the probability of an early origin. That it is of great antiquity is undoubted. Perhaps one of the most interesting evidences of this is to be found in the curious carving on one of the pillars of the old south doorway, and in harmony with Shakespeare's aphorism as to "Sermons in stones and good in every thing," we shall endeavour to unfold the story it has to tell. The arch over the doorway is carved in the usual Norman dog-tooth or zig-zag pattern, and has originally been a very characteristic piece of ornamental work, but the pillar referred to is cut in the manner more peculiar to the Norman than the Saxon style. It is exceedingly quaint and interesting. The capital, which seems to have been carved in low relief, is by the action of the weather much defaced, but the shaft supporting it is still remarkably sharp and fresh notwithstanding its 700 years' exposure to the elements. On the upper part is a figure of the Crucifixion, as if embroidered on a drapery gracefully descending in folds to the middle of the column where the rude figure of a man, probably the Apostle Peter, occurs, holding aloft a drawn sword. Below this, in a rich chevron pattern or device, a kind of zig-zag carving is carried to the base; the column resting upon a plain rounded stone. The other column is somewhat similar, but it has no figures on it, and the carving is more of the diamond pattern than the zig-zag. It differs from the first also in the capital, which is a plain square stone, and apparently without any carved design.

One cannot look upon these stones, containing as they undoubtedly do the oldest extant art carving in the parish, without

feelings of interest and veneration. The work is no doubt rough, and what might be called "uncouth," and yet it has a feeling of religious reality about it, as if the early builders had intended by these rude carvings at the doorway of the church, to tempt the heathen Scots to enter, that they might hear within the glad tidings of the gospel, brought to a sinful world through the Crucified One.



OLD SOUTH DOORWAY.

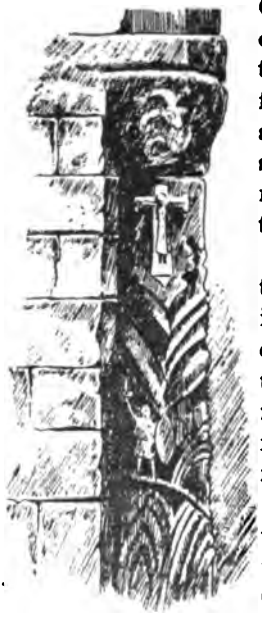
The south doorway of the Church, with its curious carvings and figures, further claims our attention, when we find that unlike modern representations of the Saviour on the Cross, which are invariably nude, or with only a loin cloth, this crucifix represents Him *draped to the feet.*

In the early Latin, or Roman Church, comparatively few instances of representations of the undraped figure occur either in painting or crucifixes till the eleventh century. The artists who had treated the subject till then represented it with dignified reverence, and had done their best to relieve it of all pain but such as was inevitable to it. They pictured the Crucified alive, calm and painless. But art became confused and depressed; it had fallen everywhere, and to attain the higher ideal it needed conditions which the age had neither the sensibility to feel nor the power to express.

The religion that needed the realistic horrors of the Crucifixion with the writhing living figure of the Saviour to stimulate the faith of the worshipper, produced a morbid state of religious life utterly at variance with the joyful spirit of the Gospel of Love. Whether from the roughness of the times or the false idea of terror as the only powerful element to affect the rudeness of the mind, the true conception of the Crucifixion was thus missed or ignored. But while during the tenth and eleventh centuries the

living form on the cross was, especially in Southern Europe, freely represented in painting and sculpture, after that period it appears to occur but rarely, and "throughout northern art in every form," we are told, "in which the Crucifixion was multiplied, on walls, in sculpture, or in glass painting, the ideal was ever that of the precious death." Christ hangs *dead* in the attitude of peaceful repose. His head wearing the crown of thorns, bends slightly down asleep in death. All pain has ceased. He has given His life for the world, and "It is finished." *

In so far then as the figure of the Saviour in the Duddingston Crucifix is draped to the feet, it bears an outstanding characteristic of art *before* the tenth or eleventh centuries; and in the fact that He is represented not in the agonies of death, but actually *dead*, it seems to bear the impress of the advance referred to as having taken place in the twelfth century.



THE PILLAR, SOUTH DOORWAY.

Sir Daniel Wilson indeed is of opinion that this remarkable piece of sculpture indicates even an earlier period for the edifice than we have stated. Judging from the singularity of its position, and the treatment of the representation of the crucifixion after what he calls "the earliest manner of Celtic art," he concludes that "it belongs to the transitional period between the marriage of Malcolm Canmore to Margaret, the grandniece of Edward the Confessor, and the founding of Holyrood Abbey by her youngest son David I. in 1128." Two sovereigns, viz., Edgar and Alexander I., the elder brothers of David occupied the Scottish throne in the interval, from 1093 to 1124, and it is quite possible Duddingston Church may owe its erection to one or other of these, but we rather incline to the belief that it was after the accession of David in 1124 that it was built. Externally, little or no alteration has been made upon the structure for several hundred years with the one exception of the addition of the

* *The Ministry of Fine Art*, by T. Gambier Parry.

Prestonfield aisle. It presents the same weather-worn aspect now that it did before the days of the Reformation.

It is different with the internal arrangement. Originally the altar would be within the chancel, with the usual furnishings necessary for the Romish ritual. Pews there were none, but only rush-bottomed chairs or stools. The erection of the Prestonfield aisle in 1631 added considerably to the accommodation if it did not add to the adornment of the church. There originally was an outside stair to the gallery, which has, however, been long disused, and the doorway facing the entrance gate has been built up.

During the eighteenth, and the greater part of even the present century, the church was kept in a deplorably dilapidated condition, little or nothing being done for the comfort of the congregation, and not sufficient even for the safety of the fabric. In 1865 Dr Macfarlane succeeded with considerable difficulty in getting some internal repairs effected, but not sufficient to add to the attractiveness of the church. It remained as before, dingy, damp, and dirty. This reproach has happily now been removed.

In 1889 a movement was set on foot by the present respected minister—Mr Paton, to secure an entire renovation of the interior. The necessary funds were raised by subscription, and under the direction of Dr Rowand Anderson, architect, beauty of form and comfort speedily took the place of tasteless bareness. The whole of the old pews—many of them square box seats with a table in the centre—were removed, and new sittings of a modern character took their place, giving accommodation for 370 persons. The chancel, which contained a number of pews and a gallery, was entirely cleared out, and is now fitted up with a fine organ, originally presented to the church in 1879 by the late Mrs Sanson of Hawthornbrae, sister of Dr David Laing, and afterwards rebuilt and enlarged, at great cost to the donor, to fit it up for its present position. The north and west galleries were reseated and new fronts added. A new pulpit, more in keeping with the style of the church, was erected close to the south pillars of the chancel, instead of in the middle as formerly. The plaster which disfigured the ceiling of the nave was removed, and an elliptical wood-lined ceiling with moulded ribs substituted. New flooring, the introduction of gas and hot-water heating apparatus, and several other improvements tending to give more cheerfulness and

grace to the building were all effected without in any way marring its antiquity. In the course of the operations the roof of the burial vault of the old family of the Thomsons of Duddingston was uncovered in the chancel. On the removal of the skirting boards which surrounded this apartment the workmen discovered an arched recess in the north wall six feet wide by about eighteen inches deep, which had evidently been intended for a monument. Over it, inserted into the wall, was the mural tablet to the memory of Alexander Thomson and his wife, Margaret Preston, dated 1603, which is elsewhere referred to. No trace of the original baptismal font has been found, but a handsome stone font, carved in Caen stone, was in 1890 added to the furnishings.

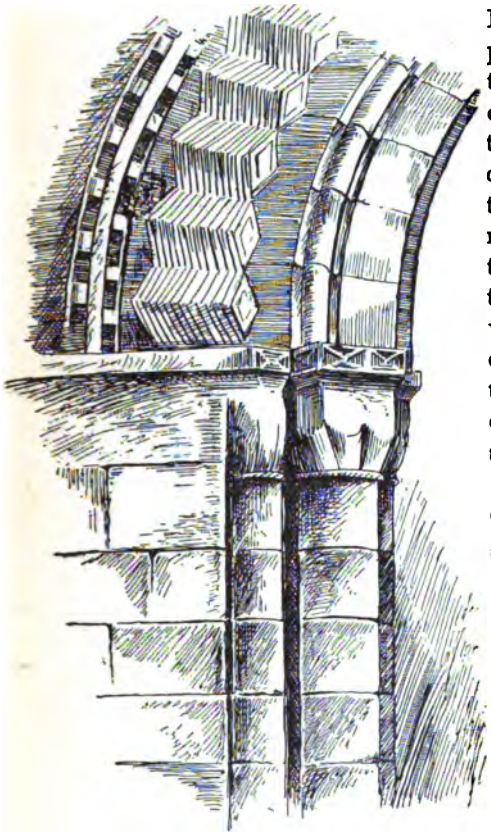
The communion and other plate belonging to the church is old and quaint. The two cups are of silver, and of Scotch workmanship of the seventeenth century. They are of a broad bowl-shape, with an unusually thick stem, stand 8 3-16 inches high, and the bowls have a diameter of 8⅛ inches. The inscription reads as follows: — "This commvnione cup + belongs + to +, the Chvrch of Dvdingstovne + 12 May Anno. 1682." The bowl of the cup unscrews from the stalk, and they both bear the Edinburgh Hall-mark; the initials of Edward Cleghorn, admitted 1649; the assay-master's punch of John Borthwick; and the date letter. The donor of these cups was David Scott, for many years an elder of the church, and one of a family which for over 300 years has occupied the farm of Northfield.* A third cup of similar material and design has been recently added (1897) by the Duddingston Women's Guild. The flagons are of pewter, and have the inscription— "for the use of the Kirk of Dvdingston."





*See *Old Scottish Communion Plate*. Rev. Thomas Burns.

The money plates, for receiving the collection at the church door, are very curious. There are two made of bronze or copper, and considered to be Belgian workmanship. On one there is a representation of Adam and Eve, and on the other the return of the spies from Canaan. The first depicts Eve giving Adam an apple from the Tree of Knowledge, which is placed in the centre of the device, Adam being on the left and Eve on the right. A serpent is coiling itself round the trunk with its head among the branches of the tree. On the other the spies are shown with an enormous cluster of grapes which two of them carry slung on a pole across their shoulders.



CHANCEL ARCH.

The borders consist of entwined vines and grapes in relief; both plates are 13½ inches across, the rim being 1½ inches wide. The composition of the alloy (which corresponds with the more early methods of preparing brass) is copper—72·62; zinc, 27·34—99·96. Similar plates form part of the church furniture of Kippen in Stirlingshire, Linlithgow, and Penicuik. By whom they were gifted or when they came into the country it is difficult to determine, but they evidently belong to the early part of the seventeenth century. The tokens were small discs of lead with the initials D.K. [Duddingston Kirk] on the one side, and the date on

the other. The one in our possession bears the historical date "1745."

Duddingston Church and Parish at a very early date came under the influence of the Abbey of Kelso. The old charters to which we have already referred, in which the Dodins of that Ilk and succeeding proprietors appear as vassals to the Abbot of Kelso, show that at the beginning of the twelfth century the lands of the barony had been gifted by the Crown to the endowment of that institution. The probability is that the gift of the lordship of the manor, with the patronage and the tithes of the church, were made by David I. immediately after the establishment of the Abbey on the banks of the Tweed in 1128.

That pious King, afterwards designated by James VI. as "a sair sanct for the Crown," zealously extended the influence of the Church in his kingdom; planting and endowing abbeys, convents, and churches. Crown lands, at that time to a large extent unproductive or covered with forests, were gifted for their support, and privileges conferred in the shape of tithes and superiorities, which grew to vast proportions in course of time, and ultimately led to much corruption. There were tithes of churches, land, mills, fishing, tolls, breweries; of skins of sheep, and deer; of hides and tallow. The fish in the sea and the cattle on the hills alike contributed to the service of religion; good King David would take nothing in the shape of produce, however trivial, without giving the Church a share of it; an indulgence which his successor, King Malcolm, continued, as we find in a curious charter in favour of the Abbey of Kelso, giving the monks a right to half the fat of the craspies (or whales) that might be stranded on either of the shores of the Firth of Forth.

It is to be regretted that the charter conveying the church and lands of the Barony of Duddingston to Kelso Abbey has been destroyed or lost. We are able, however, from other documents, to gather some information in regard to their value, and the relation in which the abbey stood to the parish as patron. The endowments generally carried a condition, either that they were to be "for the poor," for "the repose of the soul" of the donor or another, for "providing the ordinances of the church," for providing divine service in a certain chapel or church, or on condition of maintaining a chaplain duly to celebrate divine service in the same. In the case of the particular revenues of parish

churches gifted to the abbey, they were generally under obligation to supply the ordinances of religion by the appointment of a rector, vicar, chaplain, or priest, as the case might be. There can be little doubt that the Duddingston charter contained such a proviso. Kelso Abbey continued for fully 400 years to exercise the patronage of the church, the Rectory of Duddingston being served by a vicar appointed by the abbot and chapter.

It is rather remarkable that of the long line of worthy men who succeeded one another in this office, the name of only one survives, and that certainly not in the character of a patriot. "John Comhale (probably Campbell), the Vicar of Dodinestun," we are told, "swore fealty in August 1296 to Edward I. of England, and received in turn a restitution of his revenues from the Sheriff of Edinburgh." *

The Church of Duddingston appears to have been in early times of moderate value. In the ancient *Taxatio* Duddingston Rectory is rated at twenty-five marks—this assessment, levied in 1275 by the Church of Rome on the Scottish clergy, ostensibly for the relief of the Holy Land from the Saracens, was fixed at a tenth of their incomes. During the reign of Robert the Bruce the rectory was valued by the Monks of Kelso at £20 sterling per annum, and when we consider that the average income of each rectory at that time was £10 sterling, and of each vicarage ten marks, Duddingston was relatively speaking an important charge. It is quite possible, of course, that there were other perquisites attaching to the office, as, for instance, the value of the "kirk lands" of the parish, and the manse or vicarage. The churches of the Lothians were anciently under the subordinate authorities of the Deans of Lothian and Linlithgow, who again acknowledged the Bishop of St Andrews as their superior. Duddingston Church was therefore in the Bishopric of St Andrews, and under the immediate charge of the Archdeacon of Linlithgow.

We have at another place referred to the revenues derived by Kelso Abbey, as feudal superior, from the lands of the Barony of Easter and Wester Duddingston. Those had risen from a small sum until the time of Queen Mary, when we find from the rent roll of the Abbey they stood in 1567 as follows:—"Item Dudistowne—Easter and Vester—£94 13s 4d. Item, the annualles of Dudingstone £8. Item Dudistowne—the kirkis

* Rymer's *Fœdora*, II. 724.

and teindes for sylver £66 13s," or a total of £169 6s 4d Scots money.

The Reformation deprived the Abbey of Kelso of all its rights and privileges, and swept away the monastic life itself. It was a revolt against error and corruption, and the tide of popular feeling broad and deep, carried away together civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. For thirty years the storm had been brewing. The Reformed doctrines of Germany and England had been gradually permeating the people of Scotland, and the scandalous lives of many of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and priesthood hastened their overthrow. In 1560 the nation shook itself clear of the Papal See, and the result of the appeal made by the Reformers to the Estates of Parliament was the total abolition of its jurisdiction in Scotland. But while this was so, there was no formal endowment of the Protestant Church as the Church of the State until some thirty years afterwards, and it was not until long and painful struggles that the new establishment was able to procure to itself a becoming and necessary provision and support. Matters during that time were in a peculiar condition. The frame-work of the system of the old church still prevailed in Scottish society in the form of secularised remains of bishoprics, abbacies, priories, nunneries, and other ecclesiastical institutions and dignities with all their life-interests and conveyancies of rights, for as Professor Masson informs us, "Not only were the ex-bishops walking about, still called bishops, and holding their own temporalities; not only were the old abbacies and priories perpetuated in a number of so-called 'commendatorships' distributed among the new Protestant nobles or Protestant lairds without any other function attached to them than that of managing the old ecclesiastical properties and drawing the revenues; not only did these great laymen figure so constantly by their more ecclesiastical titles that it is often difficult to identify them by their proper names, but one is puzzled for many years after the Reformation by encountering deans, canons, prebendaries, rectors, and parsons who turn out to be no spiritual personages at all, but only remanant waifs of the old system, or lay successors to some of its benefices." *

During the period till 1592 the Reformed Kirk of John Knox and his colleagues was, so far as maintenance is concerned, in a

* Preface to *Privy Council Records*, Vol. III.

very temporary condition, for Parliament was by no means so forward to make provision for her support, as to sanction the doctrines of her confession. This Church was in fact, until the passing of the Act of 5th June 1592, simply an authorised Protestant Home Mission; and all their attempts to get the State to recognise a Presbyterian organisation of the clergy and their claim to the Church revenues of the "auld possessouris," as the pastors and ministers of parochial charges, were up to that time frustrated by the cupidity and rapacity of the nobility. From that Act we may date the first thorough legal establishment of the Presbyterian system in Scotland. The revenues and lands of the old church proved a strong temptation. Many of the nobility cared little for religion, but few would despise the acquisition of a rich estate torn from a neighbouring abbey or monastery.

Practically the "auld possessouris" had a vested life-interest in two-thirds of the revenue of their old offices, but as these died out, the Crown perpetuated the revenue for its own purposes, by perpetuating the offices and paying the holder a nominal sum.

That the Crown looked upon the Church lands as belonging to itself is evident from a minute of Privy Council of 22nd December 1565, where in the case of the Abbeys of Paisley, Kilwinning, Jedburgh, Newbattle, and Kelso, in all of which the post of abbot spiritual had become vacant, and was then filled by Lay Commendators, the following order was passed:—"Quharfour, and that their Majestie's houses may be all sufficientlie furnisit, and that na thing appointit and assignit thairto for quhatsomevir caus or occasion, thair Hienessis is contentit in tyme to cum to suspend their handis fra all giving granting or dispositioun of any part or portioun of their Hienessis propertie aforesaid, or of the thirds of benefices and common kirkis to ony persoun or persounis for ony caus or occasioun."

The revenue of Kelso Abbey, according to an account taken by the Government at the Reformation, was as follows:—Money, £3716 1s 2d, Scots. Wheat, 9 chalders; bear, 106 chalders 12 bolls; oats, 4 chalders, 11 bolls; meal, 112 chalders 12 bolls, 3 firlots.* The Abbey itself had been in ruins since 1545, when it was burned and demolished by the Duke of Somerset on his retreat into England; and what the English soldiers had begun

* Gordon's *Monasticon.*

was completed by the confiscation of its lands, its revenues, its patronage, and it privileges by the Scottish Government.

The Barony of Duddingston, with the tithes of the Church, reverted once more to the Crown as superior, even the Church lands of the Parish Kirks being alienated and given away or sold. Thus in a Precept from Chancery infefting Patrick Nisbett of Craigentinny in the lands of Easter or Wester Duddingston with the teinds, granted by Charles II. in 1667, we find the kirk-lands of Duddingston are specially excepted, "these having been granted to Andrew Ker in 1602, and held immediately of Us, in virtue of an annexation of all the Church lands in this our kingdom to this our Crown." * King David's gift of the twelfth century was revoked by the act of Queen Mary's Government in the sixteenth century. It was complete Disestablishment and Disendowment. The information we have as to how the Church of Duddingston fared under the new order of things in these first years of the Reformation, goes to show that until 1588 the service was conducted by a "Reader;" one who had been perhaps a priest or prebendary of the Romish Church, with not sufficient learning or skill to be recognised as an ordained minister to preach or exhort, but ministering to his little flock in a language and formula more fitted to reach their intelligence, and to stimulate their faith, than was possible under the Roman ritual he had abandoned. To meet such cases—and they were many—forms of worship approved by the Reformers were authorised to be used.

Duddingston had the advantage of proximity to Edinburgh, and we can readily suppose that her little congregation of worshippers in addition to the weekly ministrations of their "Reader" would from time to time be privileged with an "exhortation" from one or another of the city preachers.

From the *Manuscript Register of Assignations of Ministers' Stipends in 1574* (presented by Bishop Keith in 1756 to the Advocates' Library) it appears that at the Reformation the Church of Holyrood House, the Church in the Castle of Edinburgh, and the Church of Duddingston were associated or grouped together by the Reformers. This threefold arrangement was evidently intended to meet the want of regularly ordained ministers in the two latter churches. Holyrood Church, which was

* *Laing Charters*, Appendix.

then the Parish Church for the Canongate, enjoyed the ministrations of John Brand, who had formerly been a monk of the abbey, but he joined the Reformers, and was a preacher of remarkable power. The Castle Church and Duddingston were placed under his charge also, with one Alexander Thompson as reader in the former, and "Mayster Ninian Hamilton" as reader at Duddingston. From this interesting document we have the following particulars as to this threefold arrangement, with the stipends of Mr Brand and his two readers:—

"John Brand, minister, his stipend £200 (Scots), with twelve bolls aitts (oats) to be pait as followis, viz., out of the thirds of Halyruidhouse £100 and twelve bolls aittis, be the parochinaris of Halyruidhouse £33 6s 8d out of the Kirk of Kelso, be the taxmen of the Kirk or Fewaris of the landis of Dudingstoune £40, and for the remanent forty merks eikst in respect of the service and ministrations of the Castell of Edinburgh out of the third of the parsonage of Stobo, two chalders meill. Alexander Thompson, reidare at Halyruidhouse, to be pait be the Canongait. Mayster Ninian Hamiltoun, reidare at Duddingstoune, his stipend £38 13s 4d, with the manse and kirklands of Duddingstoune, to be pait as follows, viz., the third of the vicarage of Duddingstoune, £4 8s 10d, two parts; the third of his ain prebendarie of Railston £14 4s 5d, three parts; the third of Mr Ninian Borthwick's prebendarie of Corstorphine, callit half Gogar and Alderstoun £11 2s 2d, two parts; the third of Mr Thomas Marjoribanks' prebendarie there callit half Bonnytoun ane half platt £8 17s 9d, three parts."* All Scots money.

On examining the *Register of Charters of St Giles Church*, published by the Bannatyne Club, we learn that Ninian Hamilton had previous to the Reformation been one of the prebendaries of the Church of St Giles. The foundation then consisted of a provost, curate, sixteen prebendaries, a sacristane, bedall, minister of the choir, and four choiristers. The sixteen prebendaries were supported by endowments ranging from seven merks up to forty merks yearly, the highest, called "the prebend of Raylstoun," being held by Hamilton at the Reformation. His name occurs in the list of dignitaries of St Giles Church as a prebendary as far back as 1542, and again in 1553 and 1566, so that when appointed to the charge of Duddingston he was prebendary of St Giles, and was allowed to draw the third of "his ain prebendary of Raylstoun," as well as the third of Ninian Borthwick's prebendary in the same church, founded in 1425 by Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine.

* Original MS. in Advocates' Library.

In the *Register of Ministers* drawn up in 1576, it appears that Mr Ninian Hamilton was still at Duddingston, but is no longer styled "reader" but EXHORTER, with his stipend increased to £40 (Scots), though still subordinate to the minister of the Canongate.

This arrangement appears to have been continued, so far as Duddingston was concerned, until the appointment of a regularly ordained minister in 1588, in which year Ninian Hamilton probably died. John Brand was virtually the first reformed minister of Duddingston, and upon him would devolve the duties connected with celebration of the Sacraments as well as marriages in the parish, and in this latter connection it is interesting to know that he had a part in uniting in the bonds of matrimony the luckless Darnley and the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots.

The various entries connected with the event may still be seen in the *Register of the Canongate* at the Register House, among those of the Smiths and Browns of the period. They are thus set forth:—"The 21 July, Anno Domini, 1565. The quhilk day Johne Brand, mynister, presentit to the kirk ane writing, written be the Justice Clark, desyring the Kirk of the Canogait and mynister thairof to proclaim Harie, Duk of Albynye, Erle of Ross, etc., on the one part, and Marie, be the grace of God Quene Souerane of this realme, on the uther part. The quhilk the kirk ordanis the mynister so to do with invocation of the name of God." Next follows an entry of the banns being published:—"Henry, Duk of Albany, Erll of Ross; Marie, be the grace of God Quene Souerane of this realme; married in the chappell." The Queen's marriage is attested by a further entry in these words:—"The 29th day of July, anno 1565, Henry and Marie, Kyng and Quene of Scottis."

CHAPTER XII.

DUDDINGSTON CHURCH *(continued)*.

THE FIRST PROTESTANT MINISTERS—CHARLES LUMISDEN—ROBERT MENTEATH "OF SALMONET"—ARCHIBALD NEWTON.



HARLES LUMISDEN or Lumsden, the first ordained Protestant Minister of Duddingston, was a young man of about twenty-seven when he was appointed to the charge. He had passed successfully through his course at the University of Edinburgh, having taken the degree of Master of Arts, and was so distinguished a scholar that he held the post of Regent in the college. The youngest of all the Scotch schools of learning, Edinburgh University had then but little of the ancient university character, being more a professional seminary on a royal foundation than a society of graduates or students. James VI.'s charter of foundation placed it in the hands of the Magistrates of the City, who continued to hold the patronage till very recent times. (1858). Following the example of the Sorbonne and other foreign colleges, Regent Masters were appointed by the faculties as lecturers in the college, attendance on whom was equivalent to attendance on the public courses in the schools of the University; and young though he was, the minister of Duddingston seems to have discharged this office and his ministerial duties together for some time.

In 1611 Mr Lumisden received from the King the appointment of superintendent of one of the four districts into which Edinburgh had been divided, viz., that of the North-West Division; and although this was an ecclesiastical appointment, the Town Council had the controlling power in this as in the University. On 30th October of the same year he had fifty merks allowed him by the Council "for his paynes and travell in examination of the North-West quarter sen [since] March to 1st November."

Mr Lumsden was a staunch Presbyterian, and though not an extremist, had the courage of his conviction to oppose even the

King. James VI., King of England, since 1603, had striven covertly to make a change to the English model of Church government, but Presbyterianism, during the forty or fifty years of its existence in Scotland, had taken deep root in the genius of the people, and he found it no easy matter again to introduce the order of Bishops, &c., into their Church. He did, however, succeed for a time by bribes, promises, and threats; Presbytery was overthrown, bishops were appointed, and the Free Church of the Reformation was thrown into disorganisation. Not only so, but the civil liberties of the country were threatened. In 1617 His Majesty visited Scotland and held a Parliament in Edinburgh, and while professing that he had no wish to make any changes in the civil or ecclesiastical state of the Kingdom, he was secretly planning that the Parliament should pass an enactment to the effect that whatever project His Majesty, with the advice of the archbishops and bishops, should adopt in matters of external polity should have the power and strength of ecclesiastical law. This excited universal alarm, as it was considered such an Act would sweep away the last fragment of the liberties of the Church. Even some of the bishops themselves were averse to it, and through their persuasion James consented to a modification, to include a competent number of the Ministry along with the Bench of Bishops as the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council. But this addition afforded nothing like an effective safeguard, for it remained with the King to determine what a "competent" number of the Ministry was, and also to select the individuals whom he should invite to his counsels. It was, therefore, determined by a number of Ministers, of whom Mr Charles Lumisden, the minister of Duddingston, was one, to oppose this attempt upon the freedom of the Church. Though earnestly dissuaded by the bishops, they persisted in their purpose, and presented a protest to the King and Parliament on 14th June 1617. This protest, which was expressed in firm yet respectful language, and signed by more than fifty ministers, had the effect of preventing the proposed measure being passed into law.

Among other offices held by Mr Lumisden, was that of Presbytery and Synod Clerk, in which we find (from a notice of Archbishop Gladstanes' in *Maitland Miscellany*) he long officiated; and on 1st November 1610 he was chosen clerk to the Diocesan Synod of Haddington. In connection with the former appointment some

rather curious particulars have recently come to light. The records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh from 1586 to 1603, during the greater part of which period Mr Lumisden was clerk, were in possession of the University of Edinburgh for a long period of time. How they came there is not known, but their authenticity being established, steps were taken in 1889 by the Church of Scotland to regain possession of these ancient documents. An action was raised against the University Authorities, and in July 1890 Lord Wellwood gave decree in favour of the Presbytery, ordaining the University to deliver the Records to them. In giving his judgment, his Lordship explained "that they were found in a bag along with the minutes of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale. Charles Lumisden, clerk of the Presbytery, was also clerk of the Synod, and he was also Regent of the University. It was a mere matter of surmise, but the facts seemed to point to this as a possible explanation of the records of the Presbytery and of the Synod being together and found where they were, especially as the Presbytery often met at that time in the University buildings."

Mr Lumisden died on the 30th November 1630, aged about sixty-nine, in the forty-third year of his ministry. From the inventory of his effects, taken at his death, it appears his library was valued at 1200 merks (xij^{c}), the utensils of his house at ij^{c}li (£200), and his frie gear, debts, deducit, j^{m}j^{c}lxix. li vi^{s}. viij^{d}. (£1169 6s 8d) Scots money.

He was twice married, and had ten of a family. His first wife, Beatrice Pont, was a daughter of the celebrated Robert Pont, minister of St Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh, from 1576 to 1606, who, during his long life of eighty-two years, had filled many prominent positions, being Bishop of Caithness, and Moderator of the General Assembly no less than five times. By Beatrice Pont, Mr Lumisden had two sons, Robert and James. On her death, he married Beatrix Muirhead, who survived him. Beside the active duties of his parish, his superintendence of the north-west quarter of Edinburgh, his functions as clerk to the Presbytery, and his academic work, Mr Lumisden seems to have devoted some attention to literature. He published in 1600, in small 12mo., "A translation of an exposition upon some select Psalms of David, by Mr Robert Rollock, first Principal of the University of Edinburgh, from 1582 till his death in 1598." From the

Records of the Privy Council, we find that Mr Lumisden was one of the clergy, who, along with the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Galloway, and the Bishop of Brechin, were present officially at the execution of George Sprott for complicity in the Gowry conspiracy, and subscribed their names as witnesses to the deposition he made on the scaffold. This was in 1609, or shortly after the re-establishment of Episcopacy, so that he appears at that time to have conformed to the King's views, though probably not without some difficulty. In the minutes of the Privy Council of December 7th, this same year, there is a reference made to "a letter to be written to the King (then in London) in favour of Mr Charles Lumisden, and Mr Henry Charterhouse, and acquainting His Majesty with the rebellion of Thomas and Robert Lumisden, who attend at Court." Possibly these were his brothers, who were implicated in their attachment to Presbyterianism, and had refused compliance to the King's proclamation. At all events they had incurred the dire displeasure of the Council, always ready to carry out the King's wishes however despotic they might be. The Council desired the King that "according to His Majestie's proclamation sent down here," these two "may be apprehended and made close prisoners." At best, we fear, Lumisden was a "time-server," and retained his place as minister of Duddingston long after many of those associated with him in the protest to the King of 1617 had been exiled or imprisoned, or otherwise deprived of their benefices.

On the death of Charles Lumisden in 1630 the condition of matters in the country was anything but satisfactory. King James had been dead five years, leaving his son Charles I. a rich legacy of public discontent. Religious liberty and political rights had been trampled upon by the father, but the son early evinced a determination to extinguish these altogether. The Evangelical Presbyterian clergy, whom the people had come to respect as the friends of law, morals, religion, and liberty, had nearly all been banished or imprisoned, and in their places in the parish churches there had in many instances been substituted a body of ecclesiastics who cared nothing for the flocks under their charge. Conformity to the will of the King, observance of Episcopal forms, and renunciation of Presbyterianism were the only roads open at the time to Church preferment, and the patronage was almost entirely in the hands of the Crown. The type of men that this

produced is well exemplified in the next appointment made to the parish of Duddingston.

Robert Menteath, who succeeded Lumisden, was presented to the charge of the parish by Charles I., without apparently any reference to a call from the people, such as was enjoined in the *Second Book of Discipline*, for we find he was ordained at St Andrews on the 9th of December 1630 by Archbishop Spottiswood, and admitted to the church and congregation on 28th December following.

He was the fourth son of Alexander Menteath, a burgess of Edinburgh, who leased the salmon fishings on the River Forth. He was well connected, being descended from the Stuart-Menteaths of Closeburn in Dumfriesshire. The young man, if somewhat erratic in his views, and tainted with the latitudinarian notions then encouraged in Church and State, seems not to have wanted ability. He attained to considerable scholarship and knowledge of foreign languages, particularly French. Having studied at the University of Edinburgh he took his degree 14th July 1621. Going abroad, he soon thereafter became Professor of Philosophy in the University of Saumur, at that time a stronghold of the Protestant faith in France, where he continued four years, and acquired that intimate knowledge of the institutions and people of the country which afterwards stood him in good stead. He returned to his native city about the year 1627 with, what an old writer called "a great show of learning," and appears to have been employed occasionally to preach in the city churches. "Having a pleasant deliverie in the pulpit, but given to glut in all the errours of that time," he attracted considerable attention, and seems to have gained some popularity, at all events with those in authority, for he was brought forward in 1629 by two of the city ministers as well fitted for the vacant Professorship of Divinity in the University. Being opposed by three other candidates, as well as by the Principal and Regents, his settlement was thwarted, and the appointment given to another. He was not lost sight of, however, for on the vacancy occurring in Duddingston, the King at once presented him to the charge.

Immediately after his appointment steps were taken for the enlargement of the parish by the addition to it of the lands of Prestonfield, or Priestfield (as it was then named) the property of the Hamiltons, who for so many years of the reign of James VI. had

held influential positions in the Government. Previously, their estate of Prestonfield formed a part of the parish of St Cuthbert's, and whether it was out of deference to the new minister, or for the convenience of the family, or for both, it is difficult to say; at all events, Menteath was on intimate and friendly terms with Sir James Hamilton—being a frequent visitor to the mansion lying at the south side of the loch from his manse—and so it was arranged that the Priestfield family with their dependents were to find accommodation in Duddingston. The church was found, however, to be too small for this large family addition, and accordingly by an Act of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, dated 18th May 1631, "ane aysle was appointed to be added to the Kirk of Duddingston for the accommodation of the proprietor of Priestfield and his tenants, to be built and supported at his expense." This was confirmed by the Archbishop of St Andrews, and two years later by an Act of the Scottish Parliament. The Prestonfield "aysle" was constructed by demolishing the whole north side of the nave and building what is more properly a transept, but in the baldest and worst taste possible, quite out of keeping with the old Norman architecture of the twelfth century, to which it was added.

What share Robert Menteath had in these operations we cannot say. He ought to have had, from his Continental experience, some knowledge of architectural style, and been able to prevent such vandalism. Perhaps he was otherwise engaged than to trouble himself with the appearance of a building so insignificant as compared to what he had seen in the cities of France. Be that as it may, his connection with Duddingston proved to be a short one. Priestfield was too great an attraction to the minister, and his too frequent visits resulting "in an illicit amour with Dame Anna Hepburn, the lady of Sir James Hamilton, he soon after was forced to flee the country," and the case being reported to the Privy Council, he was on 7th October 1633 "denounced as a rebel," and outlawed. He repaired at once to France, and immediately applied for employment to the celebrated Cardinal Richelieu, whether by introduction, or simply presuming upon his French scholarship, the story does not say. At all events, with that combination of easy and agreeable manner with politeness and scholarship which had won for him a way into the heart of "Dame Anna," he soon ingratiated himself with the Cardinal.

On being asked to what family he belonged, he told him he "was of the Menteath family in Scotland." The Cardinal remarked that he was well acquainted with the Menteaths, and desired to know to what branch of the family he pertained. The exiled parson, whose father had been in the salmon trade of the Forth, readily replied that "he was of the Menteaths of Salmon-net!" Richelieu acknowledged that he had not heard of that branch, but admitted with becoming candour that notwithstanding his ignorance it might be a very illustrious family! He ultimately received him into his service as secretary. Joining himself to the Roman Catholic Church and making himself agreeable to all around, Menteath shortly attained to further preferment. Cardinal Richelieu appears to have found him useful, and under his patronage he was made a Canon of the Church of Notre Dame by the Cardinal de Retz. Shortly after his settlement in Paris, he appears to have made some effort to get a pardon for the offence which had necessitated his flight, but without effect, as the following letter from King Charles I., that most unfortunate of British monarchs, dated at Greenwich 14th June 1634, will show:—"Right Trustie, and weil beloved cosines and counsellouris we greet you weil; whereas we are informed that ane Menteath, late preicher at Duddingstoun, whois fouill act of adulterie is a scandell to the Church in the highest degrie, and theirfoir deserveth exemplarie punischment, is about to procure a pardon for his cryme, our pleasur is that none be granted unto him upon any conditioun whatsoever without a special warrant from us.—Charles Rex." *

As an evidence of his literary and linguistic ability, Robert Menteath published several works in Paris, of which we may mention the following:—*Histoire des Troubles de la Grande Bretagne, depuis 1633 jusques à 1646*(Paris 1661, folio)—which, it is worth noting, on the authority of the British Museum catalogue, "was edited by J. Saint Clair de Roselin." This was afterwards translated by Captain James Ogilvie, and published, in folio, London 1785—the publisher being G. Strachan at the sign of the "Golden Ball" in Cornhill. His work entitled *A Remonstrance to the King of Great Britain* published in Paris in 1652, was also in French. He also wrote a Pasquil against Mr Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, who as minister of

* See Register of Royal Letters relative to the affairs of Scotland and Nova Scotia from 1615 to 1635.

St Giles, took a prominent part in the coronation of the Queen of James VI. in Holyrood Abbey in 1590. But beside these works, Menteath "of Salmonet" published some essays, which were admired as specimens of such purity of style and facility of diction as a foreigner could attain in the French language.

That he had acquired some considerable celebrity among the savants of the French capital will be further evidenced from the following notes on a book of memoirs of the Abbé Marrolles written by himself, which appeared in the *Scots Magazine* in 1819:—

"A.D. 1641.—Sometime after having gone to pay a visit to a Lord of the Court, I was so happy as to meet M. de Salmonet. He was an excellent person, for whom we are indebted to Scotland. He quite gained my affections by his agreeable and mild appearance, and by the excellent things he dropped in conversation; and we have since often visited each other with much friendship. This valuable man, who writes in our language like a born Frenchman, joins politeness with great learning, but his fortune has always been crossed, and being attached to the Cardinal de Retz, then coadjutor of the See of Paris, he has encountered nothing but misfortunes. Yet never was there a wiser man, or more respectful towards legitimate authority, or more disinterested. He has composed the *History of the Recent Troubles in England*, and we also have from his pen *A Remonstrance to the King of Great Britain*, which may be classed among the most eloquent productions of our language."

Again—

"1652.—M. de Salmonet, one of the most considerable persons for piety and learning found in the house of the Cardinal de Retz, when imprisoned at Vincennes, was received in my Abbey of Beaugerais, in Touraine, where I kept him for fifteen months without bearing him company, which my occupation at Paris prevented. But being master of my house during that time, he used it as freely as myself, and received many visits of my relations, and of the chief nobility of the country, who showed him singular regard, without forgetting the fathers of the Chartreux of Liget, distant only two leagues, from whom he derived much consolation."

Again, speaking of the Cardinal de Retz, the Abbé "approved by a singular public eulogy the humble remonstrance of M. de Salmonet to Charles II., King of Great Britain, in the year 1652, when he (the Cardinal) was only Archbishop of Corinth, and coadjutor at Paris." And in the list of those who presented their works to the Abbé Marrolles, there occurs the following:—"Robert

de Mentet de Salmonet, a Scotsman of great erudition and singular probity, has my thanks for his histories of Scotland, England, and Montrose, and for his *Humble Remonstrance to the King of Great Britain in 1652.*" Goujet, the editor of the Abbé's *Memoirs*, adds in a note that the *Remonstrance* appeared anonymously, Paris 1652, small folio, pp. 72, and was sanctioned by the approbation of Gondy, the then coadjutor of the Archbishop, that is, the Cardinal de Retz. And further, that "Robert de Mentet de Salmonet had been highly praised by Desmarets in one of his Latin letters."

That the title with which Menteath imposed himself upon the Cardinal should have adhered to him in France is not to be wondered at; but it is rather amusing to find a learned authority such as Robert Watt in his *Bibliotheca Britannica* falling into the mistake of recording that—"Menteath, an eminent Scotch historian, &c., was *born at Salmonet*, near Grange, in Scotland!" evidently mixing up the quick-witted minister's fabrication of a domicile with an unknown locality!

The pastorate of Duddingston, so summarily vacated by Menteath "of Salmonet," was filled up without delay, by the presentation of the church to Mr Jasper Hume, 20th September 1633. Little is known of him. A student of Edinburgh University, he took his degree of M.A. on 24th July 1619. On his being offered the living by the Crown he was a man of thirty-two; but he did not enjoy it long, for he died in February 1635, in the second year of his ministry.

Mr Archibald Newton, also an M.A. of Edinburgh, was presented by Charles I. to Duddingston in February 1635. He was a man of considerable scholarship, and distinguished himself during his curriculum, being "laureated" at the University, 23rd July 1625. He appears to have been teaching for some time, and in February 1630 he was elected one of the masters in the High School, an office which he held for four years. Having been licensed by the Presbytery of Dalkeith, 29th September 1631, he filled up his time between teaching and preaching for several years, and in December 1633 he was proposed for the office of Regent or Lecturer in the University, but was unsuccessful in the object of his ambition. Going abroad after this disappointment, and in all probability, speaking with rather more freedom than the times permitted, he made himself obnoxious to the Romish Church, and was, we are told, "imprisoned in a loathsome

prison, which impaired his health," and no doubt accelerated his end. Newton was minister of Duddingston for four years—from 1635 to 1639—in which latter year he was translated to the charge of the neighbouring parish of Liberton, where he remained till his death, 2nd June 1657, at the age of fifty-two, in the twenty-third year of his ministry.

From the *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, we have the following curious information as to the inventory of his effects at his death and their disposal:—"His wholl librarie was estimat at £80, Scots; insicht at £60; inventor and dettis, £1916 19s 6d. By testament, 27th June 1657, he left to the Kirk Session £100; to Mr Robert Douglas (one of the ministers of Edinburgh) 'four of the best of my books att his awne cheysing;' and the rest of the books he left 'to be equallie devyded betwixt Mr John Smyth (one of the ministers of Edinburgh) and Mr Richard Waddell (afterwards minister of Dunbar.'" The only publication he seems to have made was a quarto volume entitled, *Uldericus Veridicus sive de statu Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Dialogus.** A rare copy is to be found in the library of the Edinburgh University. It is a curious work, written in perhaps not the most classical Latin, upon the then condition of the Church in Scotland. To an ingenious friend we are indebted for the following notes upon it:—At first sight the work is not only anonymous, but seems to give no hint as to the authorship. But the imprint on the title page, "Eleutheropolis Natoliæ," being a place name absolutely unknown in ancient or modern geography, suggests that it half conceals something the author wished to indicate. A little examination shows that "Natolia" is only an anagram of Lotiana or Lothian, and consequently "Eleutheropolis Natoliæ," or the "Free Town of Liberton," is merely Liberton of Lothian under a complex disguise—*Liber* being the Latin for Free! But who then is the printer or author, "Calabricus Neapolitanus" who "excuded" the book of Liberton? The name has a delightful Italian sound; and if it meant just what it at first appears to mean we should think of some Calabrian printer who having

* Published anonymously at Edinburgh in 1657 (20pp.), under the following title:—*Uldericus Verdicus, sive de statu ecclesiæ Scoticanæ dialogus: inter Uldericum Helvetium Basileensem à Peregrinatione recens reducem et Fridericum Concivem. 4to Eleutheropoli Natoliæ 1657. Excudebat Calabricus Neapolitanus.*

settled in Naples still loved to remember his native hills. A closer examination, however, leads to a suspicion of an under-meaning in the word "Eleutheropolis," especially as no name of this kind occurs in the annals of Italian printing. The interpretation appears to be this, "Neapolis" (Naples) is good Greek for "New Town" or Newton, and "Calabricus" is an anagram of Archibalus or Archibaldus. In this quaint fashion the Rev. Archibald Newton of Liberton has recorded his authorship of the Dialogue on the State of the Scottish Church!

It was during Mr Newton's incumbency of Duddingston that matters came to a crisis in regard to the Episcopal ascendency, under which the country had been subjected for some years. By the Act of 1617, establishing the order of Bishops, King James had vainly thought to convert the Scotch people to Episcopacy. His son, Charles the First, on his accession in 1625, was no less infatuated. He lost no opportunity of enforcing the system on his unwilling subjects, so that not only the common people, but the aristocracy with the best of the clergy came to be alienated from the Crown over the Church business.

The subsequent acts of the King leading up to the formal establishment of Episcopacy, the establishment of the Bishoprick of Edinburgh, the attempt to introduce the Liturgy in St Giles in 1637, the outburst of popular feeling which it occasioned, the meeting of the famous General Assembly of Glasgow in 1638, the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant, the threatening attitude of the Covenanters, and the temporary triumph of the Presbyterian Church, are well-known facts in Scottish history. In these important national movements Mr Newton, no doubt, took his share; and, if not so prominent as to be recorded in the histories of the times, he seems to have actively stirred up the people of his own parish on the great questions at issue, for we find from the Kirk Session Records of Liberton that during his ministry there, "the Covenant was renewed and subscribed in the parish by all ranks with great solemnity." He died on the 2nd day of June 1657, and was buried in the churchyard of Liberton, where a monument over his remains records, in Latin, his character and the esteem of his parishioners. We give a translation of the inscription from Robert Monteith's (not of "Salmonet") *Theatre of Mortality*, published in 1713:—"Tombstone in Liberton.—The Reverend Mr Archibald Newton, being

happy in his honest parentage and liberal education at home, afterwards his weak body being shattered abroad by the afflictions of noisome prison among enemies of the Reformed religion; upon his return to his country he was so famous for his learning and eloquence, that first he was four years minister of Duddingstoun, and afterwards eighteen years at Libberton, with the matured love of his people in both these places; a constant maintainer of Religion and of the Royal dignity. At length his soul removed to heaven, 2nd June 1657, having ordered his body to be laid up here, until the Resurrection of the Godly." The tombstone itself cannot now be found.

It may here be remarked that this is perhaps one of the earliest recorded applications of the now common title "Reverend" to the Scottish clergy, and it is doubtless used here in recognition of Mr Newton's piety and worth. In the early records of the Kirk Session of Duddingston in 1637 he is styled, "Mr Archibald Newton, minister of Chryst's Evangell at Duddingstoune."

The successor of Mr Newton in the Church of Duddingston was Charles Lumisden, second son of the first Protestant minister of the parish. The date of his birth is uncertain, but from the Register it appears he was baptised on 22nd March 1614, so that when on 23rd August 1641 King Charles presented him to the living, he was a young man of twenty-eight. Like his predecessors in the ministry, he had studied at Edinburgh University, where he graduated 22nd June 1633, and, taking his degree of Master of Arts, was admitted by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, 8th September 1640, as a licensed preacher. In the Register he is frequently styled—"Minister of Chrystis Holie Evangill at Duddingstoune." During his tenure of office, which stretched over forty years, many stirring events occurred, and political as well as ecclesiastical changes took place deeply affecting the welfare of the country.

In an age of strong purposes and resolute opinions it is not easy to be neutral. Those who attempt it are generally thrust aside. It is the extreme men who come to the front, and, asserting themselves, hold their own or are broken in the attempt. The stubborn infatuation of Charles I., in seeking to usurp the powers lawfully devolving on Parliament and the Church, led to his downfall and execution. The uncompromising attitude of Oliver Cromwell, as the leader of democracy, made him the

recognised and undisputed dictator for nearly nine years. From 1649 to 1658, during his Protectorate, the Scotch Church enjoyed a measure of peace and toleration to which the people had long been strangers. Oliver, ever tolerant of those who differed from him in religion, allowed Provincial Synods, Presbyteries, and Kirk Sessions the utmost freedom; patronage was abolished, congregations and kirk sessions were allowed to choose their ministers on the occurrence of vacancies. Only upon the powers of the General Assembly of the Church were certain restrictions placed. The Restoration of Charles II., viewed at first with favour in Scotland, was the beginning of a new and worse period of persecution. Once more the attempt was made to convert the people to Episcopacy by force. The country literally groaned under the tyranny of such men as Lauderdale, Middleton, Graham of Claverhouse, and Archbishop Sharp, and the secret devilry of the Star Chamber. The Act Recissory and the Act for the "Re-establishment of the ancient Government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops" were followed in 1662 by an injunction commanding that all clergymen who did not receive spiritual induction into their livings in the Episcopal manner should be removed by military force. Many lukewarm and timorous pastors yielded to the order, but a large number, amounting to 350, at once abandoned their benefices and their means of subsistence, rather than comply. The people in many districts were stirred up, and became zealous in the cause of their suffering ministers, and followed them to meetings or conventicles on the moors or hill sides, rather than attend the churches under "the Bishop's hirelings."

The minister of Duddingston was one of those who submitted to the obnoxious order, and retained his manse and church; and we fear the saying "like people like priest" held good of the parishioners—that they "did not trouble themselves with these matters," but were content to escape the persecution which adhesion to the Covenants involved.

From the Records of the Kirk Session we glean some interesting facts regarding the internal economy of the church, the constitution and duties of the kirk session, the funds, the support of the poor, special and communion services, irregular marriages and discipline, with which we shall next deal.

CHAPTER XIII.

DUDDINGSTON CHURCH *(continued)*.
THE KIRK SESSION—ITS CONSTITUTION—DUTIES OF THE OFFICE-BEARERS—DISCIPLINE.



O the Kirk Session of the parish was committed the supervision of its morals and behaviour, short of what was actually criminal, and therefore under the jurisdiction of the higher Courts. And the instruments of punishment at its disposal were the stool of repentance, the jougs, the stocks, the pillory, the branks, fines, and even imprisonment. Composed for the most part of the heritors or leading landed proprietors in the parish, it was a court of considerable power, and as a rule that power, both in civil and ecclesiastical offences, was administered with a severity which can only be excused by the unsettled state of the country and the superstitious ignorance of the people.

Fornication and adultery were crimes punishable in case of confession in various ways—sitting so many times on different Sundays on the stool of repentance, or standing in the jougs at the door of the kirk barefoot and in sackcloth, sometimes "being carted through the town," and sometimes being "duckit," as at Glasgow in the Clyde. In 1562 the Magistrates of Edinburgh caused a hole to be dug in the North Loch, in which persons leading impure lives might be soused. In 1566 Elspeth Logan, one of the Queen's cooks, was by the Kirk Session of Canongate ordered "to be anis douckit in the Corall hollis and banischit the gait." So rigorous was the law that "notour adulterers" were liable to execution, and we are told "the penalty was occasionally inflicted."* Indeed, we believe, the Act of 1563 stands still unrepealed.

Blasphemy, swearing, drunkenness, "flyting and scolding," slander, "the abuse of husbands by their wives," and other such-like offences were punishable with exposure to public scorn in the

* *Social Life in Scotland.* Dr C. Rogers.

"jougs," and many instances might be given where these were used.

The "jougs" (from *jugum*, a yoke) consisted of an iron collar in two halves fastened by a clasp, and suspended by a chain about six feet from the ground, which was generally hung on the wall at the entrance gate of the Church. They seem to have been a common enough appendage to the furnishings of a well-ordered parish in pre-Reformation as well as in more recent times. From nearly all the Parish Churches of the country they have, however, long since disappeared; so far as we know the only ones now to be seen being at Stobo, at Merton in Berwickshire, at Biggar, and at Duddingston. The marvel is that in the last case these interesting relics should have so long survived, quite entire and well preserved, as memorials of the past. They are situated on the outer wall of the Churchyard close to another old relic of the past—the "Louping-on-stane"—which recalls the days when the honest farmers of the parish brought their wives with them to church, riding the same horse—the stone platform with its few steps up being for the purpose of enabling the "guid wife" to mount up behind her lord when the service was over. We have no record of the use of the "branks," the "stocks," or the "pillory" in Duddingston parish.



THE LOUPIN'-ON STANE AND THE JOUGS.

As to the use of the jougs at Duddingston, the minutes of session do not throw much light; it is rather implied than expressed. But there is ample evidence in regard to the use of the stool of repentance.

The entries in the Duddingston records, we believe, are neither better nor worse in regard to morals than may perhaps be found in any parish in Scotland during the century and a-half following

the Reformation. If the old Church was lax in its suppression of vice, and permitted not only the people but the very priests at the altar to indulge in scandalous sin without correction or reproof, the Protestant Reformers, on the other hand, from the first evinced a thorough determination to enforce the utmost compliance with the moral law. In the Presbyterian period of fifty years, from 1560 to 1610, the most rigid severity was exercised by the Kirk Sessions in rebuking, and punishing every offence against Church order and morality. Church discipline, indeed, was often exercised in a way that made it ridiculous, and with a faithfulness which only defeated its object.

Irregular marriages, drunkenness, breach of the Sabbath day, neglect of ordinances, adultery and fornication were the principal faults dealt with by the session, though sometimes even very minor offences were judged upon by them, as we shall have occasion to show.

At the Reformation it was enacted by the General Assembly that all who wished to marry must submit their names to the minister or session clerk for proclamation of banns on three successive Sundays. Subsequently it was permitted, on payment of a larger fee, that banns might be completed by one public announcement, the words, "for the first, second, and third time," being added. Immediately subsequent to the Reformation forty days were required to ensue between the time of "booking" and the day of marriage. While emphatically maintaining the non-sacramental character of the nuptial tie, the Reformers were desirous that a religious solemnity should be associated with the event. It was accordingly ruled by the General Assembly of 1571, "that all marriages be made solemnly in face of the congregation," and the practice, we believe, was to celebrate these unions at the close of the morning service. This arrangement, however, appears not to have worked well, and in 1579 it was ruled that if a sufficient number of witnesses were present, parties might be married on any day of the week. But in some places the original rule was observed, as at Stirling, where in 1614 the Kirk Session issued a decree that the marriage rite be celebrated "only in church, after divine service," and "that all merry-making of every kind should wholly cease."

Marriages contracted contrary to parochial or church order were treated as irregular marriages, and the parties subjected

themselves to discipline, and were liable to rebuke and fine. A considerable number of such cases occur in the Duddingston register, but are not of a serious nature, and the parties generally escape with an admonition by the minister and session.

During the Episcopal period of Mr Lumisden's ministry the Bishop's licence was sometimes substituted for the ordinary publication of banns. We have an instance of this on 29th July 1662—"The which day Thomas Lord Dunkeld was married to Margaret Thomsone, daughter of the deceast Sir Thomas Thomsone of Dudingstoune, upon ane ordour and warrant from the Right Reverend Father in God, George Bishop of Edinburgh, at the Abbey of Halyruidhouse the 21st of this instant, containing a dispensation for their proclamatione directed to the minister of Dudingstoune."

Intimation of marriage was generally made to the minister or session clerk, when a pledge was lodged in the treasurer's hands that it would be carried out, and as the entries are rather curious, and show that a good deal of foreign coinage was then current in Scotland, we quote a few extracts as specimens of many that may be given:—

"24th May 1654.—The which day William Flint and Isabella Patok, both in this parotch, in presence of the pastor, declared that they had made promise of marriage, ane to another, and laid down their pledge in the Thessaurer's handis, being ane gold ring, that they would compleat ye banns within fourtie days from this date; whereupon the clerk was appointed to proclaim the banns."

On 28th May another couple laid down their pledge, "being ane half pistole of gold."

Another—"Harrie Balfour and Isabell Stevenson, in presence of the Session, declared that they had made promise of marriage ane to other, and laid down their pledge in the Thessaurer's hands, ane gold ring with ane blew ribbing [blue ribbon] that they should compleat their banns within fourtie days. Whereupon the Kirk session ordayned to proclaim the bann."

The following are instances of pledges laid down in similar circumstances:—"Fyve pounds," "Ane doubil piece of gold," "Ane French crown and ane rix-dollar," "A littel gold ringe," "Ane littel gold ringe with ane stone in it," "Ane rix-dollar and twa half-crowns." These would all, no doubt, be restored to the

parties on the completion of the marriage, when it was usual to give a small fee for the poor.

The observance of the Sabbath, and attendance at Church were duties strongly urged upon the people everywhere, and in the parish of Duddingston the elders seem to have kept a strict watch over such of their flock as were inclined to neglect ordinances and indulge in drunkenness. Thus on

"25th December 1653.—The which day William Wightman, for prophaneing the Lord's day by drunkenness, and railing against the proceedings of the kirk session, made his public acknowledgment in the forenoon before the pulpit in the presence of the whole congregation assembled."

"9th July 1654.—Harrie Balfour for prophaneing of the Lord's day and fighting, made his public acknowledgment this forenoon before the pulpit in presence of the whole congregation assembled."

"13th May 1677.—This day the minister and session ordainit the elders and deacons that collect upon the Lord's day, not only to go through the change houses in the tyme of devine service, but lykeways to visit the change houses after seven of cloack at night, and to delaite such personis to the session as shall be found drinking, and in lyke manner such idle boyes or prentices as shall be found abusing the Lord's day."

Here is a case brought before the Session in which a fine is threatened.

"9th June 1678.—Compeared James Brown, John Galbraith, and Patrick Murray, and were rebuked for their breatch of the Lord's day soe that the session hath maid oath on them if they shall be found in the lyke fault hereafter to pay ten pounds Scots, and to satisfie publiclie befor the congregatioun."

That the "change houses" were responsible for a good deal of trouble brought under the notice of the session we have abundant evidence in the minutes referring to brawls, &c. Neither did the publicans escape. Thus in 1657

"John Cook for selling ale on the Lord's day was summoned before the session and rebuked and threatened if he did the like again, they would cause him to make public satisfaction before the whole congregation."

"17th August 1658.—John Beck being cited before the session for selling ale upon the Lord's day, the session resolves that if the

said John Beck were found selling ale on the Lord's day again, he should make public satisfaction," &c.

"March 1659.—The which day Robert Millar was cited before the session for profaning the Lord's day by drunkenness, as was clearly proved by John Kay and J. Suter upon their oath of veretie. The said Robert Millar was ordainit by the session to make his public acknowledgment the next Lord's day in the forenoon, before the pulpit in presence of the whole congregation." Millar, however, proved to be rebellious, and at first refused to acknowledge the order of the session. He was ultimately brought to reason however, and we find from a subsequent minute that "he being more sensible of his sin than he was before, did humble himself upon his knees at the dictation of the session, and did humbly beg the Lord to pardon him of that and all his other sins, and did promise by the assistance of God's grace never to fall into the like sin; which gif he did he would be lyable to anie punishment the session would inflict upon him."

Sometimes we have the gentler sex arraigned for too free a use of the tongue, as in the case following:—"1st July 1658.—The which day Agnes Barclay, spouse to Thos. Tweedie, was ordainit by the session to make her public acknowledgment the next Lord's day, and that for scolding and flyting with Janet Ker, younger."

The sin of fornication was one that was punished with considerable severity, but to those guilty of adultery the penalty was an ordeal that few sensitive natures could face without a shudder. A few instances from the Duddingston records will suffice to show the nature of the proceedings in such cases:—

"22nd October 1654."—A married pair for ante-nuptial fornication "made their publick repentance before the pulpit in the presence of the whole congregation assembled."

"9th May 1656.—The which day Andrew Hamilton of Ridhall did appear upon the public place of repentance conform to ane ordinance of the Presbytery of Edinburgh for the sin of fornication committed by him with Lilias Gordone."

In the case of fornication three and sometimes five different appearances upon "the place of repentance" were enjoined. But in the case of adultery, which was judged a more heinous offence, as many as *seventeen* different appearances before the congregation, "clothed in sackcloth," are known to have been

imposed upon the unfortunate culprit before he or she could be absolved of "the sin and scandal." Here is one of several such cases:—

"14th October 1660.—The which day Susan Douglas, adultress with David Howeyson, adulterer, being cited before the session, compeared in presence of the session in sackcloth. Did humble herself upon her knees, and besought the Lord to pardon her of that great sin and of all her other bygone sins. The session ordained her to begin her public repentance the next Lord's day, and to stand at the church door, in sackcloth, frae the second bell to the last, and then go into the public place of repentance, and there to sit in sackcloth."

It appears that she and Howeyson went through this ordeal no less than seventeen times, Sabbath after Sabbath! In all probability the severity of the sentence was owing to the fact that this was the second occasion the parties had been before the session for a similar offence.

Cases of adultery occur in the early records with lamentable frequency, and are a melancholy reflection on the times; but the instances of fornication are much more frequent. In all probability this looseness of morals may be attributed to the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, especially among the agricultural and mining operatives of the parish, and inadequate house accommodation.

The condition of the colliers and salters in the neighbourhood of Easter Duddingston and Joppa, which is elsewhere referred to, was exceedingly debased, and could not well be otherwise, considering the state of slavery to which they were subjected, and the practice of employing the women along with the men in the lowest forms of drudgery. There is little doubt that to this circumstance the high rate of immorality in the parish is largely to be traced.

It is to be feared that from among these classes in the days of Mr Lumisden's ministry the attendance at church was comparatively limited. In few of the Parish Churches of Scotland up to this time were there any fixed pews. Pews, indeed, were looked upon as luxuries, and were appropriated by the heritors or principal tenants, the people either sitting on the floor, or on little portable stools or rush-bottomed chairs. The first mention we have of fixed seats being introduced into Duddingston Church is

in a minute of 12th November 1676, where it is stated—"This day the Minister and Session appoynted the Thessaurer to build ane wooden seat for the better decorment of the bodie of the church out of the poor money, and such as possess them to pay in yearly so much for the use thereof to the poor box as shall be thought fit." We learn afterwards that there were ten such pews or "seats" in 1694, that those who occupied them—principally the elders and farmers—paid for each pew fifteen shillings a year, while for one pew, which was a specially large one, for the use of "the salters," there was paid two pounds a year.

The management of the burying ground devolved upon the kirk session, and the kirk officer under them was a man of some importance in conducting the affairs of the parish, He seems to have had more perquisites than salary, and we get a peep into the nature of his office from an entry dated 17th January 1675, appointing Charles Young to succeed old Launcelot Young, who was probably his father: "Which day compeared Charles Young, and was admitted by the minister and session to be kirk officer, and gave his oath that he would be diligent and serviceable and faithful in his office, and to perform all duty and obedience as others does in the like conditioune. He is to have yearly for his house meill, twentie merks, and ten merks yearly for his fie, togedder with his casualities for burials, marriages, baptisms, and fornicators, as his predecessor hadd. He is ordained by the minister and session to ringe the great bell sumer and winter at aught hours in the evening, and fyve hours in the morning. He is to have of allowance yearly of each feuer and from each house that kindels ricke (*i.e.*, burns a fire, or raises smoke by a feu or vent) two shillings Scots, which payment is to begin upon New Year's day next."

From the Register of Deaths—or rather Burials—in Duddingston Churchyard from 1632, the rate of mortality during the seventeenth century appears to have been heavy. The ordinary annual average death-rate was about twenty-five, but there were several visitations of what was called "the plague," which increased the mortality enormously. The last great visitation of this terrible scourge took place in 1645. In Edinburgh its victims could be counted by thousands, until, we are told, "there were scarce sixty men left capable of assisting in the defence of the city."

In Duddingston, with its comparatively small population, the mortality was very large; no less than 160 burials being recorded, of which, it is said, over one hundred and forty died of the plague, most of which occurred in the months of September, October, and November. For these a separate place of burial than the churchyard had to be found, probably for fear of infection, and though in some cases exceptions were made, the greater part of those who died of the plague were buried "at the fute of ye lone." The spot cannot now be identified with certainty, but was probably at the foot of the lane leading into the Queen's Park from the village, where the Park Lodge now stands. In 1675, new mortcloths, &c., were provided by the Kirk Session, for which they paid as follows to Alexander Cruickshanks on 7th June. "The Session hath bought twa velvit mortcloaths for the parish yuse, ane greater one, and ane lesser one, for eleven ells of velvit, ane hundred twenty and fyve pounds ten shillings. Paid for lyning and fringes, and twa spockes, three score and four pounds twelve shillings money foresaid. Payed for making of the same." The following is a summary way of dealing with memorials of the dead which would scarcely be appreciated now-a-days:—"10th March 1678.—The session ordaint that nae headstane shall be set up in the kirkyard without libertie given, asked, and granted, and to pay into the box for such headstane fyve merks, Scots; and such as have already set up stanes, and have not as yet satisfied or obtained the session's libertie therefor, is ordainet to be removed and turned over the kirkyard dyke"!! So much then for the internal economy of Duddingston Kirk which these old records disclose during the period prior to the Revolution of 1688.

The power of the kirk session was supreme in the parish, but it was not so strict during the rule of Episcopacy in the Covenanting period. That the Restoration of Charles II. was looked upon with satisfaction by the minister and kirk session of Duddingston is evident from the regularity with which the anniversary of the event was observed for many years in the parish. The first mention we have of it is in a minute of "Sunday, 19th July 1660.—A thanksgiving was made to God for the King's Majestie's coming back to his kingdom in peace." "Tuesday, 23rd April 1661.—A thanksgiving was made to God because King Charles the Second, our dread sovereign, was upon this day at London crowned King of England." "Sunday, 26th May 1661.

—Intimation of a thanksgiving was made as follows to be kept this next Wednesday, being 29th May 1661 :—The Presbytery of Edinburgh being verie sensible of the great mercie of God in the wonderful restoration of our King to the throne of the three kingdoms, as they have already manifested the truth thairof by their cordial observation of two solemn days, the 19th of July 1660 and 23rd April 1661. So that they may further testify their real joy and sincere thankfulness to God for so good a cause, and give evidence that the religion professed in this kirk (to which their souls cleave) as founded upon God's word, doth teach them loyalty, and to rejoice in His Majestie's happiness and prosperitie. They do resolve (abstracting from all other ground and consideration) singly to set about the substance of the duty, and to take hold for this time of the occasion of the 29th day of May, the day appointed by the Parliament for public thanksgiving, to spend the forenoon of the day in public worship and praising God for this great and singular mercie of the King's Majestie's restoration to his dominions, and to pray that he may long and happily reign over us."

Every year thereafter down till 1678 it is duly recorded on the 29th May—"On which day a thanksgiving sermon was preached by our own minister (Mr C. Lumisden) for his Majestie's happy restoration to his kingdom." On these occasions a special collection was made for the poor, and whether it happened to be a week-day or Sunday service it appears to have been generally well attended, as the collection was always above the average Sabbath day collection.

But the iron heel of despotism ruled the nation. Lauderdale, Claverhouse, and Dalzell all-powerful and merciless, paralysed its civil and religious life. Persecution was rampant, and both ministers and people were being hunted down and shot on the hills and moors of Scotland for nonconformity to Episcopacy ; but the pastor of Duddingston was secure in his living, and his people were apparently undisturbed.

As if Charles II. had not done enough to stamp out every spark of liberty, and was determined still further to make conformity to the rule of the bishops imperative, his brother James, Duke of York, came to Edinburgh in 1681 as commissioner for the King, with orders to exact a more stringent test of conformity from all persons holding offices civil, ecclesiastical, or military, under the

penalty of confiscation. In this test the royal supremacy over all persons and in all causes was asserted; the Covenants were formally renounced, and passive obedience was broadly asserted. About eighty of the more respectable and conscientious of the clergy refused to sign this document, and were in consequence ejected at once from their parishes. Many of these removed to England and were through the influence of Bishop Burnet provided with benefices in the English Church, but some joined the persecuted Covenanters.

Mr Charles Lumisden, the minister of Duddingston, now a man of sixty-seven, and seemingly in infirm health, appears to have taken the test oath, and was continued in his charge. But his son, Andrew Lumisden (born October 1654), who had been acting as his father's assistant for a short time, had scruples of conscience on the subject, and refused to comply. For this he was charged before the Privy Council on 22nd November 1681 "for contumacy for refusing to take the test oath, and for inveighing publicly and privately against it as unlawful and contradictory." This was all the more extraordinary, and we might say to his credit, as he had been brought up in the very lap of Episcopacy, his father having conformed as we have seen in 1662, and submitted to its authority ever since, while he himself had studied at and taken his degree of Master of Arts from the University of Edinburgh (1671) and been licensed to preach by Alexander, Bishop of Edinburgh (4th August 1675).

Mr Andrew Lumisden's appearance before the Privy Council, with its cruel hard-hearted men, was, however, too much for the courage of his convictions. He wavered, recanted, and submissively consented to acknowledge the royal supremacy, and the Council, probably actuated by motives of leniency on account of his youth, acquitted him of the charge; but the Bishop deprived him of his place, and declared the parish of Duddingston vacant. He, however, petitioned the Council on 6th December thereafter "for libertie to take the test from his ordinary," which they allowed, and he was accordingly reponed in the charge.

The narrative of this incident as given by Lord Fountainhall is curious, and goes to show that the poor minister of Duddingston had been picked out by the Privy Council with a view to making him an example to others, or, as they said, "to terrify the rest." "22nd November 1681.—Mr Andrew Lumsdean,

minister of Dudingston, is accused of having preached against the test, in so far as he, speaking of the tymes, did say—'Instead of bread, stones were given us, which gravelled and broke our teeth, and instead of fisches, serpents were offered to sting and poison us, which nather we nor our posterities would get digested;' and on this he cited that of the prophet, 'We looked for peace, and behold trouble;' all which they applied to the test. His meaning was referred to the oath. He deponed, tho, by tendernesse of conscience, he was unclear to swear the test, yet he purged himselfe of any designe of reflecting on it, but his text from Jeremiah led him naturally in to regrait the division, schisme, and rent is in the church; and all the former expressions tended only to that purpose. He was assoilzied; *tho he, as a young man, was stayed designedly, to fright others.* Yet this way of purgation of ther meanings was looked on as singular; called by lawyers *juramentum purgationis.*" *

From the original MS. minute of the Privy Council's meeting, in the Register House, it would appear that the Duke of York presided when the minister's petition to be allowed to continue in the exercise of his duty at Duddingston was considered. It is a remarkable document in many ways, but particularly for the abstract given from Andrew Lumisden's sermon from Jeremiah xiv. 19, where he was charged with "falsely and maliciously inveighing against the test," and "misconstruing and depraving His Majesty's laws to the great contempt of His Majesty's authority and government."

Mr Lumisden's father, Charles Lumisden, appears after this to have been unable to officiate in the church through continued infirmity. He died in October 1686. He was twice married, first to Margaret Livingstone, who died September 1643, by whom he had a son and three daughters; and afterwards to Beatrix Melville, by whom he had a family of sons and daughters.

* Fountainhall's *Historical Notices*, P. 339.

CHAPTER XIV.

DUDDINGSTON CHURCH *(continued)*.
FROM THE REVOLUTION OF 1688 TO 1800.



N eventful period of national history came to a close with the Revolution of 1688, and the accession of William and Mary. King William, essentially tolerant in religious matters, desired that all classes should have full liberty; and while he would not agree to the exclusion of Episcopalians from office, yielding to the desire of the Scotch people, he re-established Presbyterianism as the national form of Church government. The expelled clergy were accordingly restored to their parishes, and the Confession of Faith was adopted. The Universities and Parish Schools were placed under the superintendence of the Church Courts, lay patronage was once more abolished, and by an Act of 1690, compensation was granted to patrons.

Once more the meetings of the General Assembly, after a long interval, were resumed in 1690, and once more the Church set itself to the consideration and arrangement of its machinery, particularly "to purge out scandalous and immoral ministers," and to exact submission to Presbyterial form and order. Mr Andrew Lumisden appears to have declined to acknowledge the new state of things. Having committed himself irrevocably to Episcopacy, he was now as stubborn in support of the bishops as he had formerly been of Presbytery. The Assembly's Commission dealt kindly with him at first with a view to his retaining his charge, but showing no inclination to yield he was ultimately deposed on 2nd November 1691, and declared no longer minister of Duddingston.

Leaving the Manse he settled in Edinburgh, throwing in his lot with the Non-Jurors, who were then and for many years placed under harsh and rigorous penalties. After serving as Archdeacon of the diocese for a long time he was in 1727 elected Bishop of Edinburgh, being consecrated on 2nd November.* Bishop

* See Grub's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland.*

Lumisden died on the 20th June 1733, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, leaving a family of five by his wife, Katherine Craig, of whom the eldest—"Elizabeth, was married to William Alexander, Esq., nearest male heir of the noble family of Stirling."*

On the deposition of Mr Andrew Lumisden, the church and parish of Duddingston remained vacant for nearly three years, ordinances being no doubt supplied in the interval by the Presbytery. At length in 1694 the kirk session secured the services of Mr James Craig, A.M., a man of over sixty years of age, who had been in various appointments. In 1676 he had been translated from Selkirk to the parish of Tranent, but was deprived of his charge on his refusing the Test in 1681. Coming to Edinburgh he was in 1687 unanimously elected and presented "by the Kirk Session, Magistrates, Heritors, and Deacons of Crafts" to the second charge of the parish of Canongate—the service up to that time being conducted in the chapel of Holyrood. In consequence of the King's desire that the chapel should be exclusively set apart as a chapel royal, the congregation in that year had removed to Lady Yester's Church in the city, a church afterwards founded in the Canongate being opened in 1691, whence in future it took its name. Mr Craig does not appear to have occupied this new church, for we find "he was obliged to remove from Lady Yester's with his congregation in the summer of the same year to an old chapel near the Watergate."† He acted as minister of Duddingston for ten years after his appointment, and died 31st May 1704, aged seventy-two, in the forty-fourth year of his ministry.

A new phase of ecclesiastical policy had now been entered on. By the death of King William and the consequent accession of Queen Anne, in March 1702, fears were entertained that this daughter of the House of Stuart would endeavour once more the subversion of the Presbyterian Church. The General Assembly had been abruptly closed, and under the cloak of a toleration or rather extension of privileges to Episcopalians, an attempt was made to set up Episcopacy in the parishes then vacant—of which there were not a few—by the appointment of Episcopalian ministers. Owing to the stand made in the Parliament by the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Marchmont the attempt was abortive, and on the other hand an Act was passed which ratified and confirmed

* *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ.* † *Ibid*, Vol. I., P. 89.

all laws and statutes "made against popery and papists," and also confirmed Presbyterian Church government and discipline, by kirk sessions, presbyteries, synods, and assemblies. Patronage having been abolished, the nomination of the kirk session and heritors had taken its place in the election of ministers, and now as a further step for the first time the wish of the people was recognised as a factor in the transaction. We accordingly find in the next appointment to Duddingston Church this important feature, unlike any of the appointments that had preceded. This was the call of the people. Nominated by the kirk session and heritors of the parish, the congregation—consisting of the male heads of families—signed a call to Mr David M'Colme, or Malcolm, towards the end of the year 1704. The call was accepted by him, and he was duly ordained by the Presbytery to the oversight of the parish, 28th March 1705. Mr Malcolm had been licensed by the Presbytery of Haddington, 11th January 1700. In the first years of Mr Malcolm's ministry in Duddingston, the discipline by the kirk session was exercised with considerable strictness and impartiality.

The records at this point do not, unfortunately, give us the *personnel* of the session, but it appears that the office of deacon had fallen into abeyance, as we do not find deacons again mentioned as part of the Church economy after the Revolution. The entry after the date is simply—"Sederunt, minister, and elders." But though this formula is continued in the minute-book down to 1743, yet from internal and other evidence we gather the names of several of the more prominent elders of the parish. Prominent among these must be mentioned William Duncan, Baron Bailie of Duddingston for many years, and whose name appears in the list of the session as far back as 1658. He was still alive at the beginning of Mr Malcolm's ministry, and had doubtless his own share in the difficulties of the troublous times, both before and after the Episcopal period. He was a man of high standing and character, if we may judge by the laudatory inscription on his tombstone. He married in 1661 Janet Ker, daughter of his predecessor, James Ker, Baron Bailie. He died in 1708, and was buried close to the chancel doorway. A fine monument was erected to his memory on the south wall of the church over his grave—one of several of a quaint and ornate character, which has not suffered the obliquy of being "turned over the kirkyard dyke."

In this case unfortunately the weather has entirely obliterated the inscription, but we are enabled to give a copy of it from Robert Monteith's *Theatre of Mortality*. It runs as follows :—

Here lies the body of William Duncan, late Bailie of Duddingstown. He lived 71 years, died 5th June 1708.

Nor Dedalus', nor Tully's skill can show
His matchless worth, that's buried here below ;
True to his word, just, charitable, kind,
Of an obliging and a constant mind.
In publick and in private matters too,
As Bailie, Elder, husband, father true ;
He to his wife and children left behind,
The lasting tokens of a virtuous mind :
They unto him their gratitude to prove
Have caused erect this badge of mutual love.
But reader, stay, since no enjoyment can
Redeem thee from the common lot of man ;
Look on this fabric with a serious eye,
By living well, prepare thyself to die.

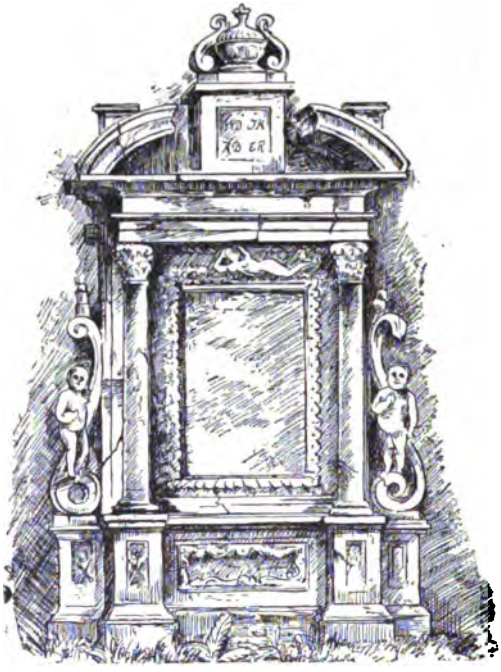
Agricola et Prætor, Senior, colo, protego, condo,
Rus, jus, templa, manu, consilioque prece.

Other elders after this time are Mr Archibald Duncan, a son of the former Baron Bailie; James Williamson, sometime treasurer of the church; Andrew Horn (smith, and coal grieve to the Duchesses of Lauderdale and Argyle for fifty-four years), residing at Magdaline Pans, appointed treasurer in 1711; John Robertson, and Joseph Grier, clerk of kirk session. The predecessor of Joseph Grier was one John Colme, who, however, seems to have got into trouble, as he is incidentally mentioned in a minute of 11th January 1711 as being then in prison.

In the discharge of their onerous duties, not the least seems to have been that of visiting the parishioners regularly, enforcing the strict observance of the Sabbath, regular attendance at church, reproof of drunkenness, swearing, and immorality. In this capacity they are generally referred to in the minutes as "the visitors," and under so strict a *regime* as existed in those rough times it is to be hoped their own lives were in every respect a fitting example to the flock whose spiritual interests they supervised. The pastor at all events seems to have expected this of them, for we find on one occasion, after the appointment of the

celebration of the Lord's Supper, he "recommended to the elders to converse with the people in order to such an holy ordinance."

By the Revolution Settlement of 1688 the Establishment of the Church of Scotland on a Presbyterian basis was secured, and the rack, thumb-screws, and "boots" of the Episcopalian Privy Council, were superseded by the repentance stool of the kirk. It was a time of mending of morals, possibly of overstrained zeal. The following extracts will serve to illustrate the nature of the discipline exercised, and to some extent the customs and habits of the parishioners of Duddingston at the beginning of the eighteenth century :—



WILLIAM DUNCAN'S TOMB.

For neglect of the public ordinances of religion we have the following amusing instances :—"24 June 1711.—The visitors [*i.e.*, the elders] delated that the following persons absented from church last Sabbath, viz., James Miller, salter ; James Paterson, coal-hewer ; John Neilson, coal-hewer ; and that John Lindsay's maid servant was chaffing beer [grain—probably barley]. It was appointed that they be cited to the next meeting. Accordingly on 1st July the two first appeared, and acknowledging their fault, "the session appoint them to be rebuked with certification." While "John Lindsay's maid servant compearing and acknowledging that on the Sabbath she was rubbing some beer, because it was not clean, and owning her fault in so doing, this being her first fault, and she but young, the session appoint the Moderator to reprove her."

On the sin and danger of laughing, especially at an elder, this is curious and suggestive :—12th July, 1711.—"Reported by the visitors that Christiane Ramsey, servant to William Duncan, wright, was absent from church this day, and laughed at them when visiting; they appoint her to be summoned to the next meeting." Accordingly, Christina, light-hearted lassie that she was, in obedience to the summons, appears at next meeting, "acknowledging her fault in laughing when the visitors came to the house; she is rebuked for her fault, and on promise of amendment, dismissed."

For Sunday rambling and absence from the kirk the results were serious :—8th July, 1711.—"The visitors reported that on Sabbath last, James Robertson and Thomas Watson, servants of John Cook, farmer in Duddingston Milne, and Alexander Vast, servant to John Craig, farmer in Duddingston, were vaguering through the fields, and did not attend publick worship, appoint them to be summoned to compear against next meeting."

At the same meeting, one, John Neil, salter, is charged with the same fault. These accordingly, in the most humble manner, "acknowledged their guilt of vaguering on the Sabbath in time of sermons, and going down to the sea side and gathering some wilks there. The Moderator severely rebuked them, and exhorted them, and the session also refers them to the Magistrates to be further punished."

In all probability the punishment inflicted in this case would be imprisonment or the imposition of a fine.

Cases of drunkenness are frequent, and the following examples illustrate the mode of dealing with the evil. First we have a family carouse ending in a parish brawl :—30th August 1713.—"Reported by the Moderator that he had received a letter from the minister of the West Kirk bearing that Robert and David Richardson, weavers in Duddingston, and his [?] spouse; John Rowan, the said Robert's servant and his spouse, Janet Johnston, were upon a Sabbath lately guilty of drunkenness, cursing, swearing, and fighting in the Potterrow, and that he had caused summon them to this dyet. David Richardson being called acknowledged drunkenness on the said Sabbath, but denied cursing, swearing, or fighting. Elizth. Forsyth, his spouse, being called, and compearing acknowledged drunkenness, but denied the other articles. Robert Richardson denied all the articles of the charge,

alledging he was sickly, and unable either to drink or fight!" Happy Robert Richardson!

This case requiring proof, after some correspondence with the minister of the West Kirk, "The session found that D. R. and his wife, and J. R. and his wife, were guilty of drunkenness, appointed them to be called in and get a severe rebuke, and referred them to the civil magistrate to be fined as he should think fit for their gross enormity," while Robert Richardson, having evidently no spouse, and being in a measure incapable, got Scot free!

16th May 1713.—"Reported that John Tait, coalman, was lately very drunk; he is appointed to be cited."

"Reported that William Hume, weaver in Duddingston, frequently drinks, is drunk, and in his drink swears; he is appointed to be cited."

Both parties accordingly appeared, "and having acknowledged their guilt, and promising amendment, after suitable rebuke and exhortation, the session appoint the clerk to take their obligation under the penalty not to commit the like again."

The evils of intemperance in those days were we fear aggravated by the number of public-houses in the village, there being no less than six or seven of these; the only restriction apparently upon the hours of opening and shutting being that during divine service or "sermons" on Sundays, no tavern or inn was allowed to give entertainment to visitors.

In rural parishes, where the congregation had many of them to come long distances, sometimes on horseback or by cart or gig, the village inn was the first house of call where the horses and gigs were "put up." And if there were two diets of worship, as there were then at Duddingston, the interval was frequently spent in the inn over bread and cheese; but "during sermons" the inns were supposed to be closed. For infringement of this rule we mention several cases brought before the session.

4th April 1714.—"Richard Allan being called, his spouse compeared and acknowledged that six men came to her house one Sabbath and drank only three chappins of ale *in time of sermon*. She was severely rebuked, and dismissed, it being her first fault." One of the other innkeepers of Duddingston, a Mrs Hunter, seems about this time to have given the session a good deal of annoyance in connection, not only with some such offence, but

also by being mixed up in other cases of discipline. The first case is as follows :—

3rd June 1711.—"The Session being informed that Mrs Hunter harboured lately some persons in her house *in time of divine worship*, appoint her to be cited against the 12th instant, as also Robert Handyside, Robert Brown, and Adam Bannatyne, as witnesses in that matter."

12th June 1711.—Mrs Hunter being cited, but not appearing, several of the witnesses in the case being present were examined. "Agnes Beith being called, compeared and declared that lately on a Lord's day, some persons came to Mrs Hunter's house, but at the beginning of sermons before noon; they went out and walked until the sermons were over, that they then came back to the house and dined, that at the ringing of the third bell, afternoon, they went out again, and walked till sermons were over, and that after sermons they returned to the house again, pay'd their reckoning and went away." At a future diet Mrs Hunter herself appeared, and being asked if she had not lately on a Lord's day entertained some strangers in her house in time of sermons, answered that she had not, but that three gentlemen and a gentlewoman came to her house before sermons, and that at the beginning of sermons the gentlemen went out, but the woman stay'd in; that after the end of the forenoon sermon, the gentlemen returned and dined, that again at the beginning of the afternoon sermon, the men went out, and returned not till the sermons were over, when they came back, pay'd their reckoning, and went away." Robert Brown and Adam Bannatyne, other witnesses, deposed that they saw the parties come through Mrs Hunter's yard, "goe into a coach, and goe away." After a good deal of evidence of a similar kind, "the session thought it not fit to take any more oaths about this matter, and appointed the Moderator to caution Mrs Hunter to beware of keeping any persons in her house *in time of sermons*, to exhort her to keep the church herself, and take her promise that she would doe so; and Mrs Hunter being called it was accordingly done."

That the attenders at church in their after adjournment to the public-house, sometimes forgot when to rise and take their way home is without doubt. It seems to have been a peculiarity of the times, that while in regard to some breaches of the moral law there was too much strictness, on the other hand there was far too

much licence allowed for drunkenness, the parent of many crimes.

Cases of adultery, fornication, and clandestine marriage are frequently recorded, and were punished by public rebuke before the congregation, or what at the time was called "going through a course of repentance." In the case of Helen C——, "the session considering that the scandal was flagrant in this paroch, and that the said H. C. has stay'd in their bounds upwards of six weeks, appointed her to wait on the Moderator, and begin the course of her repentance on the 19th of this month, being Sabbath next." Charles Smith is enjoined "to begin the course of his repentance upon the first Sabbath of October next, as also to give in a bond to the Treasurer, obliging himself to satisfy church discipline."

Agnes Beith, servant to the above-mentioned Mrs Hunter, was after this found guilty of a similar offence. Both she and her lover were summoned, and having made confession were "appointed to give security for their satisfying church discipline, and to wait on the Moderator and begin the course of their repentance when called, they being at the same time rebuked for their sin and exhorted to repentance." Some time afterwards we find Mrs Hunter again turning up, if not herself a delinquent, as giving the benefit of her experience to another frail daughter of Eve similarly charged, but who had been guilty of falsehood in regard to the father of her child. She "confessed that it was by the advice of Mrs Hunter, indweller in Duddingston, she was prevailed on to lie to the session, and father her child on one abroad, and that Mrs Hunter told her that was the only way to get the sooner free of them!"

The course of repentance for this sin at this period was generally three appearances; but for adultery, five and sometimes even more separate appearances on the stool of repentance, Sabbath after Sabbath, was the penalty enforced. So that as compared with the previous century, punishments were considerably relaxed.

The judicious application of discipline to erring members of a church may doubtless serve good ends. But when that discipline comes to be a meddlesome interference with all in the community, whether they have a claim to be members of the church or no, its tendency is to do harm. The kirk sessions in the Protestant Church were granted very considerable powers—powers pertaining more

to those of the Civil Magistrate than to a spiritual body, and things were done by them in name of the Church, to which no church should lend itself. One instance of the absurdity of a spiritual body interfering in civil rights and liberties may be given from the Duddingston Records. In a minute of session of 1st February 1712 we find this curious entry—"John Air, servant to William Hog, gardener in Prestonfield, having gone upon the ice of the Loch notwithstanding it was evidently so tender that it would never bear his weight, and having by his falling into the water endangered his life, notwithstanding he was earnestly dissuaded by one of the members [of kirk session] so to doe, the session appointed him to be cited to their next meeting in order to be reproved for his rashness, to terrifie others from the like dangerous attempts!' Whether he was so dealt with we cannot say, as unfortunately the minutes of the session from this date till May 1713 have been lost. It is to be hoped that poor "John Air" in addition to his cold bath, had not to suffer the colder sneers of an unsympathetic congregation on a following Sunday as he sat on the stool of repentance and listened to the words of reproof that fell from the lips of his minister!

We have referred to the erection of pews in the church in 1676. These were occupied by the principal families of the parish, at a small rent, or "seat mail," paid to the Treasurer yearly. From a memorandum left by that officer we give the names of those so occupying the seats in the year 1714, and for which a yearly sum of 15s was paid by each:—Archibald Duncan, son of William Duncan, and Baron Bailie; John Robertson, farmer; James Williamson, Archibald Cook, David Scott, farmer; William Horn, Andrew Symington, John Cook, farmer, Crookston; John Black, John Craig, and John Johnston, Wm. Patton and John Lindsay, Robert Duncan, Andrew Horn, farmer, Fillysidebank; Robert Balderston, and finally the "salters' seat," for which £2 was paid.

In the first years of his ministry in Duddingston the Rev. David Malcolm seems to have been a zealous and attentive pastor, and if one may judge by the few out of many instances of church discipline we have given, he had not a few stray sheep among his flock. But if the people were under strictest discipline so was the pastor, for he himself was involved in a case of irregularity in the celebration of a marriage in 1721, which brought him into

conflict with the Presbytery. He had performed the ceremony for George Drummond, a young merchant of Edinburgh—whether with or without the usual proclamations we cannot now say. The minister was summoned before the Presbytery, and the charge, whatever it was, having been substantiated, he was on 10th November 1721, rebuked at the bar for his conduct. The result would appear not to have been so bad as the fault would lead one to suppose. George Drummond rose afterwards to be one of the most useful and honoured of the citizens of Edinburgh, and was elected to be Lord Provost of the City no less than seven times. He was the great promoter of the improvements and extension of the City beyond its ancient boundaries, erecting the North Bridge, the Royal Exchange, and the Old Royal Infirmary. His bust in marble executed in 1772 by Nollekens, now adorns the entrance hall of the New Royal Infirmary.

Whatever technical irregularity there may have been in the conduct of the good minister of Duddingston when he married such a man to Catherine Campbell, daughter of Sir James Campbell of Aberuchill, was doubtless absolved by the after happiness of the marriage.

Mr Malcolm did not confine his talents to the mere routine of his ministerial work. He was a scholar and a man of letters as well. He studied the Gaelic language and literature with some success, and even proposed publishing a Gaelic dictionary about 1732, but it went no farther than a prospectus and specimen, though the General Assembly encouraged him so far in carrying on the work as in 1837 to make him a grant of £20 "to assist him in bringing out an Irish dictionary."

At this time the affairs of the parish appear to have been entirely neglected by him, and for months he absented himself altogether. On the plea of "increasing his knowledge of the Celtic tongue," he went to London, whence, upon complaints being made of his long absence, he sent a letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh to the effect that "his object in that visit was to promote learning and to convince the Legislature of the affinity there is between the Irish language and that now spoken by the first inhabitants of Georgia, Carolina, &c., and thence subsuming by consequential arguments *that the Spanish monarch has not the least pretensions to these our colonies*, not even upon the footing of a Papal grant." This extraordinary letter came before the Com-

mission of November 1739, who recommended the Presbytery to require him to return and attend his pastoral charge. With this injunction he would not comply; and at the Commission of May 1740 another letter from him was read "touching the cause of his stay in London."* As all their efforts failed to get him to interest himself in anything but his favourite employment of "tracing languages to their fountainheads, and thereby illustrating the antiquities of all nations, especially his own,"† he was at length, on the 24th March 1742, deposed from the ministry, and the parish of Duddingston was declared vacant, on the ground of his desertion of his charge for two years without leave from the Presbytery. This sentence seems to have had the effect of recalling him to a sense of his position. He made an effort to have the sentence annulled, but without being able to move the Presbytery. They afterwards agreed, on his formally demitting his charge, to withdraw the sentence of deposition, which was accordingly done on 27th April 1743.

He had now full freedom and leisure to pursue his favourite studies, and the next we find of him is in an action claiming to be entitled to the benefit of the "Ministers' Widows' Fund." His claim was refused by the Trustees, who brought an action of Declarator, when it was found by the Lord Ordinary, 21st November 1747—"That Mr David Malcolm having demitted his charge as minister of Duddingston in April 1743, was not in the sense of the Act of Parliament a minister of the Church of Scotland on 28th March 1744 (the date of the commencement of this excellent fund), and that he, his wife, and children are entitled to none of the benefits arising from the Act, and therefore repelled the defence, and decerned conform to the conclusion of the libel." Against this decision he appealed to the Inner House, when it was affirmed by the whole of the Lords. He died on 7th February 1748, in the forty-third year of his ministry.

Though undoubtedly a man of eccentric habits and studies, Mr Malcolm is said to have been "eminent for learning, honesty, moderation, good nature, and benevolent disposition." In private life he possessed many desirable qualities, and lived to see his sons, who received a liberal education, happily introduced into

* Morren's "*Annals of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 21, 384.

† *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scotticanæ.*

the world. Latterly he seems to have been incapable of doing business, for the kirk-session in 1743 appointed two of their number "to subscribe a discharge to Mr John Malcolm, who was a surgeon in the army and physician at Ayr, for what his father was owing to the session." His publications consist of an "Essay on the antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland," issued at Edinburgh in 1738 in an octavo volume, "Tracts illustrating the Celtic antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland" in the same year, "Collection of letters, in which the imperfection of learning, even among Christians, and a remedy for it is hinted, published in an 8vo volume in 1739." These all appear to have been practically the same work, with slight modifications, and under different titles. A volume of "Letters, essays, and tracts, relating to the antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland" was published in London in 1744. Neither his Gaelic nor Irish Dictionary, as we have said, got the length of publication. Of the former works, one of his successors—Rev. Wm. Bennet—states in the Statistical Account of the parish—"these display a considerable knowledge of the Celtic and Hebrew languages, and were chiefly intended to form an introduction to his great, but unfinished undertaking of a Celtic Dictionary. They are commended by Pinkerton, and quoted with respect by Gebelin in his 'Monde Primitif,' and by Bullet by his 'Memoires Celtiques.'"

The affairs of the congregation after Mr Malcolm ceased to take the active pastoral supervision, drifted into a state of disorganisation, for the very elders had to be called in question and subjected to rebuke. In 1742 (Nov. 26) the Presbytery conferred with the kirk session and severely censured two members of the session, viz., Mr Horn and Mr Archibald Cook, for irregular attendance. The elders at this time were Archibald Sinclair, Peter Meek, and the said Messrs Horn and Cook, while for a year or two during the vacancy various ministers of the Presbytery acted as Moderators of kirk-session. In June 1743 no less than eight couples were summoned to appear before the session for irregular marriage. These "after a short rebuke and wholesome exhortation, adhering to one another, were dismissed." Other irregularities, of which no mention is made, would doubtless exist. For instance, "In March 1744, the kirk session appointed the Session-Clerk—Mr A. Cook—to call on the Rev. David Malcolm, late minister, for the cups and flagons and any other thing belonging

to the session," from which it would appear that there had been no Communion service in the church for at least two years.

After some negotiations with Archibald, third Duke of Argyle (at that time, in virtue of his being proprietor of the Barony of Duddingston, the chief heritor and patron of the church), a successor to Mr Malcolm was procured. The Duke, notwithstanding that an Act of Queen Anne had restored patronage a year or two before, appears to have given the kirk session and congregation the liberty of choice; for we find that on the 30th November 1742 the elders concurred with the heritors "in a petition to the Presbytery for moderating in a call to the Rev. Robert Pollock, preacher of the gospel, to be minister in Duddingston, which petition the Rev. Presbytery granted," and there was accordingly upon the 15th of December "a unanimous call by heritors and elders with consent of the whole congregation" given to him. His ordination by the Presbytery took place at Duddingston, 13th March 1744. Robert Pollock was a Master of Arts of Edinburgh University, having studied and taken his degree there 18th May 1725. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Stirling 1st November 1732 after being proposed to be taken on trials by the Rev. Archibald Gibson, minister of St Ninians. When he came to Duddingston he must therefore have been well advanced in life. After this settlement an election of elders took place, 26th June 1744. "It was represented to the session by the moderator that in regard to William Horn, one of their number, was now dead, and that it was necessary an addition should be made of some few more to their number, the session unanimously named John Horn, Richard Richardson, and James Duncan, tenants in Duddingston, and appointed their moderator to talk with the forenamed and to report to next meeting." Having done so, he reported that he found these persons would accept the office. No objections being lodged against their appointment, they were duly ordained 26th August, "and took their seats accordingly."

Robert Pollock's term of office as minister of Duddingston was of short duration. He had scarcely had time to settle down to the supervision of the parish and clear away the irregularities caused by his predecessor's neglect when he was summoned to a more important sphere of labour. The Professorship of Divinity in Marischal College, Aberdeen, having become vacant, he was offered the appointment, and having accepted the same, was

admitted 28th August 1745, "at a salary of £1000 Scots, and a chaldron of coals." The minute of admission enjoins him to prepare and deliver an inaugural discourse before 1st April 1746. Whether the troubles that intervened in the Rebellion of Prince Charles Edward prevented this being done we cannot say, but at all events the Town Council of Aberdeen, who were the patrons of the chair, voted "£50 to pay the expense of his translation," from Duddingston to Aberdeen. Two years after this, the Principalship becoming vacant, the Town Council recommended Mr Pollock to the Crown as suitable for the office. He was not successful at that time, as the appointment was conferred upon Thomas Blackwell the younger. In January 1753 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and was appointed His Majesty's Almoner, and the Principalship again becoming vacant on the death of Dr Blackwell, he was on 28th April 1759 chosen for this high distinction. He died in 1759, in his fifty-first year, and portraits of him and Mrs Pollock are still to be seen in Marischal College.

The interval between the removal of Mr Pollock from Duddingston and the appointment of his successor was a period of political disturbance. The country was overtaken in civil war by the raising of the Standard of Rebellion on behalf of the deposed Stuarts.

It was in the year of the Rebellion that the Barony of Duddingston, then the property of Archibald Duke of Argyle, was sold by that nobleman to James Earl of Abercorn, with the patronage of the Church. The Earl presented the Rev. William Bennet to the living, 27th February 1746, and he was admitted on 14th May following. Mr Bennet, who had previous to this been parish minister of Denny, was originally licensed, 10th July 1734, by the Presbytery of Linlithgow, and ordained minister of Denny, 22nd August 1738. At this time and down to 1754 the kirk session consisted of only five individuals—Messrs Jas. Duncan, John Horn, Richard Robertson, and Archibald Cook, with Wm. Panton, the schoolmaster, as their clerk and registrar; but on 18th February 1754, Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield was ordained and admitted as an elder.

From a memorandum left by the then treasurer we are able to give a few particulars regarding the seatholders in the church in 1760. It is interesting as giving the names of families long con-

nected with the parish, some of whose representatives are still to be found in the neighbourhood.

James Duncan, John Horn in Milns, and Mrs Horn in Easter Duddingston; Peter Scott, Northfield, and his son Andrew; Richard Sinclair, Alexander Livingston, Andrew Porteous, Mrs Johnston and William Brown, Richard Robertson, Mrs Horn and Andrew Horn, and Robert Johnston. These paid 7s per annum, or £4 18s in all. "The seat opposite the pulpit (the memorandum goes on to say) and next to Robert Johnston pays 6s 6d. The seat next the Whipman's seat in the east end of the kirk pays 10s 6d. The middlemost seat in the east end of the kirk pays 9s 6d. The seat next the door in the east end pays 10s."

In the records of the Kirk Session there is nothing at this period particularly calling for attention. We have the frequent repetition of cases of discipline for such offences as have already been referred to, with the occasional appointments of session clerk or treasurer, and other parochial business. There is one curious entry, in 1752, which the then clerk, James Philips, the Duddingston schoolmaster, has thought not unworthy to be recorded. This is in reference to the change in the calendar, which was made in this year by an Act of Parliament. "Hereafter," says the minute, "the Gregorian or new style is used. It commenced in Britain by Act of Parliament, September 3rd 1752, which 3rd was reckoned 14th thereof, by the new style, eleven days being dropt. The Julian or old style has continued 1795 years, and in that time has differed from 1795 true solar years 13 days and more than one half. But even this calendar differs one day in 5000 years from 5000 solar years, or 50 solar centuries." Henceforward all the minutes bear to be recorded in the "new style."

One of the most important duties of the Kirk Session was that of providing for the poor of the parish. As such they were the custodiers and disbursers of the collections at the church, which were devoted to this object. The collections at this period, if not large—amounting on an average to £23 sterling per annum—seem to have been quite ample along with the income from Mortcloth or burial dues, seat rents, and marriage fees, to meet all the demands made upon them by their poor; the average outlay for this purpose in Mr Bennet's time not exceeding £29 a year.

The question of the right of the heritors of parishes to demand inspection of the books with respect to the administration of funds belonging to the poor had engrossed the attention of the Civil Courts and the General Assembly. In the Assembly of 1752 a committee of twenty-two ministers and eleven ruling elders—of whom Mr Bennet of Duddingston was one, and his predecessor, Professor Pollock of Aberdeen, another—were appointed to consider and report upon the power of kirk sessions in the management of the poors' money.

Nothing came out of it, and the funds continued to be administered as formerly. In the parish of Duddingston the receipts seemed sufficient for all requirements, and the treasurers, who from time to time were appointed to administer the fund, had frequently a surplus.

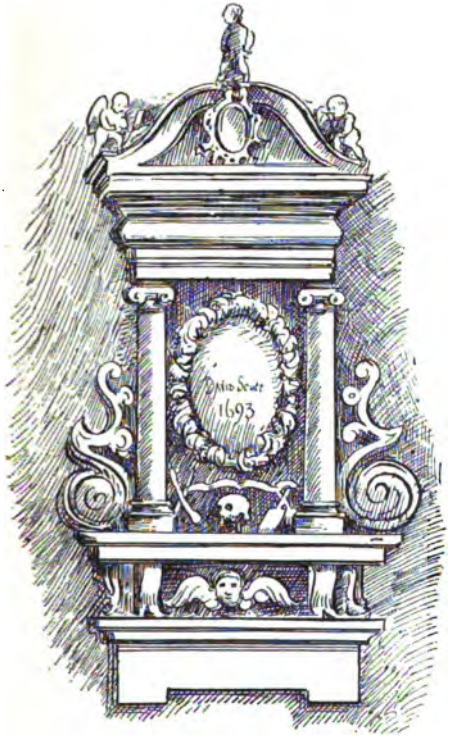
Once or twice it occurred that the Treasurer having used the Poor Fund for his own purposes, and afterwards got into difficulties, had to grant a bill at the end of the year for the balance in his hands. Sometimes these were duly paid, but in one instance it is interesting to find the kirk session employing as their law agent for recovery of their funds the father of Scotland's great novelist. We give the minute in full—"25th March 1763.—As to Mr Robertson's bill, mentioned in the preceding minute, for the sum of £12 19s 8d, the session having formerly agreed to join with the rest of Mr Robertson's creditors, and to take such a proportion of the above sum as might be ascertained when his effects should be disposed of, referred this matter with his other creditors to Mr Walter Scott, Writer to the Signet, chosen as a trustee for them all. As Mr Scott has not yet fixed the proportion out of these effects due to each creditor, the session can insert nothing further in this minute till the share due to each creditor is proportioned and the money received."

The matter does not appear to have been settled until five years after, when we find the following minute of 11th November 1768: —"The session then proceeded to enquire what he (the Treasurer) had received out of Mr Robertson's effects in consequence of his joint-submission with the rest of his creditors to Mr Walter Scott, writer. Mr Duncan reported that he had received £4 4s."

Mr Scott was at this time a struggling young Edinburgh lawyer of about thirty-four, with a not over large practice, but with a rather numerous young family, of whom the greatest had not as

yet seen the light of day, Sir Walter not being born till three years after this. The case in which Mr Scott was employed was unfortunately not the only one where the Poor Funds were misappropriated, otherwise the reserve fund in the hands of the kirk session's bankers, Messrs Ramsay & Mansfield, would have been larger than it was.

In the course of the next thirty years a considerable increase took place in the expenditure for the poor of Duddingston, the accumulations of former years being drawn upon to meet the increasing demands; though it is right to explain that the necessitous condition of the poor on account of the great dearth occasioned by the failure of the crops in 1782, had led the session not only to double their usual allowance, but also to assist respectable families in straitened circumstances.



DAVID SCOTT'S TOMB.

In 1777, the kirk session had by death been reduced to only two members—Messrs Wm. Duncan and John Horn, and an addition was then made by the election and ordination of Andrew Scott, farmer, Northfield; Peter Horn, and Thomas Sharp, while Thos. M'Kill, the schoolmaster of Duddingston, having been an elder in the parish of Kirkmahoe, was assumed as a member of session, and acted as session clerk down to 1795.

The Scotts of Northfield have long been identified with and taken an active interest in the affairs of the parish. Their tomb-stone records several generations of them from 1693, most of them attaining to extreme old age.

Only one addition to the session seems to have been made in the long interval from 1777 to 1794, viz., Mr Andrew Bennet of Muckraw, and sometime farmer at Brunstane; but in the latter year three names were added to the list, viz., Mr Andrew Black, Mr John Thomson of Easter Duddingston, and Mr John Dick.

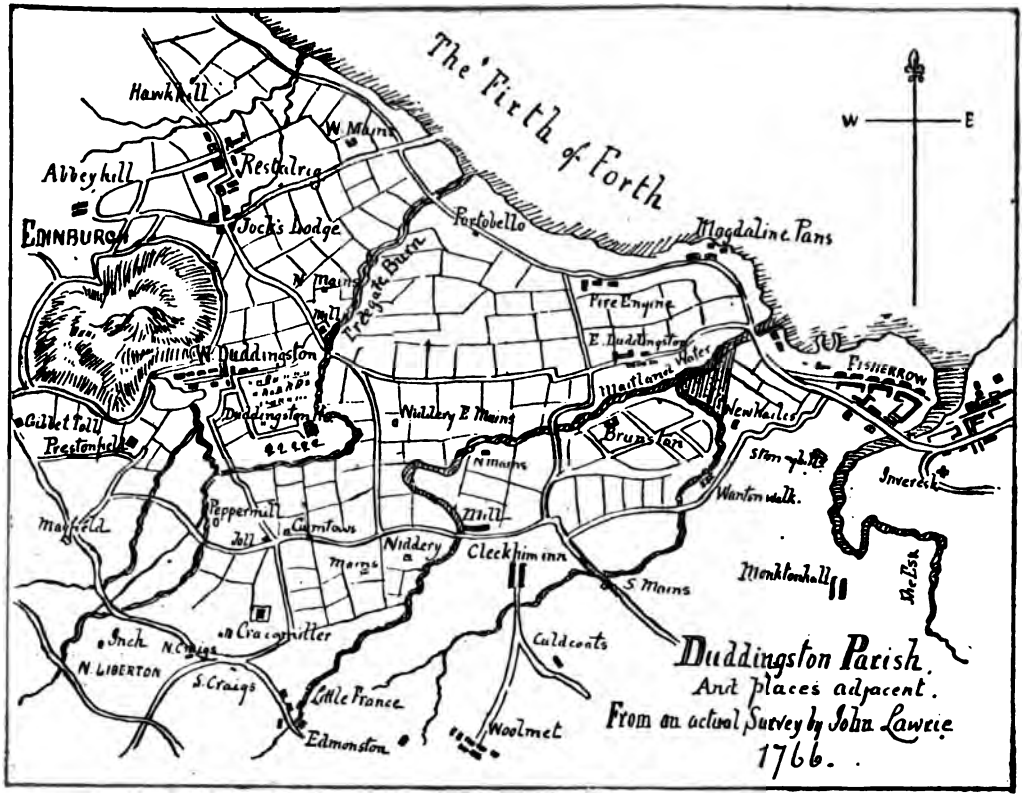
It may be mentioned here that Mr Andrew Bennet's son, Archibald Bennet, was a well-known man in Edinburgh, where he acted for many years as Secretary for the Bank of Scotland. He died in 1868 at the age of eighty-six, and is buried in Duddingston.

After a long, active, and unobtrusive ministry, Mr William Bennet died at the age of seventy-eight, on 14th July 1785, after a service of nearly half a century, thirty-nine years of which had been spent in Duddingston.

The congregation did not remain long without a minister, for in January following a presentation was made by James Earl of Abercorn to Mr William Bennet, son of the Rev. Patrick Bennet, minister of Polmont, to succeed his uncle, the deceased minister. We are not told whether the appointment was agreeable to the kirk session and people. As a rule in those days they had to be content with those who were appointed over them, and in many parishes in Scotland indifference to religious matters had begun to manifest itself to a large extent, the result no doubt of the election of the minister being taken out of the hands of the people. Mr Bennet was a young man of twenty-three when he was ordained minister of Duddingston (12th May 1786), and had only been licensed the year before by the Presbytery of Linlithgow. Evidently endowed with an amiable and retiring disposition, and devoting his leisure time to the study of geology and botany, he seems to have despaired of making a radical religious reform among his people.

That a great declension had taken place in the religious condition of the people in Edinburgh and its neighbourhood is abundantly evidenced by Hugh Arnot in his *History of Edinburgh*, where some curious but highly suggestive comparisons are made between the state of religion, morals, and manners in 1783 and 1763, or within the limited period of twenty years. A few passages may here be given by way of illustration.

"In 1763 it was fashionable to go to church, and people were interested in religion. Sunday was observed strictly by all ranks


The Firth of Forth
W
E
Hawkhill
W. Mains
Abbeyhill
Restalrig
Jock's Lodge
EDINBURGH
Portobello
Magdaline Pans
Fire Engine
E. Duddingston
Fisherrow
W. Duddingston
Duddingston Ho
Whitbery E Mains
Maitland Hales
New Hailes
Brunstane
Gilbert Toll
Prestonfield
N. Mains
Inveresk
Warriston walk.
Peppermill
Toll
Currietown
Mayfield
Niddery
Mains
Cleckhim inn
S. Mains
Monktonhall
Inch
N. Craigs
Craigmiller
N. LIBERTON
S. Craigs
Little France
Caldcoats
Edmonston
Woolmet
Duddingston Parish.
And places adjacent.
From an actual Survey by John Lawrie
1766.

as a day of devotion; and it was disgraceful to be seen on the streets during the time of public worship. Families attended church, with their children and servants, and family worship was frequent. The collections at the church doors (in Edinburgh) for the poor amounted yearly to £1500 and upwards."

"In 1783.—Attendance on church is much neglected; Sunday is made a day of relaxation; families think it ungenteel to take their domestics to church with them; the streets are often crowded in the time of worship; and, in the evenings, they are often loose and riotous. Family worship is almost totally disused; and *it is even wearing out among the clergy;* the collections at the church doors for the poor have fallen to £1000; so that with more people and more money the collections at the church doors are lessened near £600 a year." The collections at the Duddingston Church door, curiously enough, show a corresponding decrease during this period.

In 1763, the church door collections were about £25; in 1784 they were only £21, and Mr Duncan reported in 1786 that within two years 17s in bad coin, chiefly halfpence, had been collected from the plate; the coinage at that time being in a deplorably mutilated condition.

Lockhart, in his *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, speaking of this period, says:—"Convivial habits were then indulged among the young men of Edinburgh, whether students of law, writers, or barristers, to an extent now happily unknown," and all who know the story of Robert Burns will remember that it was at this period of social declension and yet of remarkable wit and talent, that he flashed upon the aristocracy of rank and learning which then adorned the Scottish Metropolis.

That Mr Bennet had his parochial difficulties, goes without saying. His parishioners undoubtedly were no better than their neighbours, let us charitably hope they were no worse! Perhaps the scattered nature of the parish—including an agricultural population on the one hand, and on the other, a rough uneducated population of colliers, salt workers, etc., at Easter Duddingston, Joppa, and Magdalen Bridge, with a few families of brick makers and potters at the village of Figget or Brickfield—or, as afterwards called, Portobello—was more than could be adequately supervised by one individual. Little interest seems to have been taken even in the fabric of the church, for Mr Bennet thus describes

its appearance at that time as anything but satisfactory, "The seats in the lower part of the church are in a tottering and ruinous state, though the pews in the galleries wear a respectable aspect." In the year 1794, the population of the parish was 910, of whom there were 428 males, and 482 females. The number of births for the same year is given as forty-five.*

The first statistical account of the parish was written by Mr Bennet for Sir John Sinclair in 1795. It is a well-written comprehensive article of twenty-six pages, and under that part of it which treats of the *character of the inhabitants* we find the worthy minister's views lending confirmation to our remarks. "The people," he says, "in general of the parishes in the immediate vicinity of the metropolis, are necessarily of a very mixed character, and too frequently more corrupted comparatively, in the lower ranks, than in situations more remote, and less exposed to the contagious effects of such a neighbourhood. . . . The labourers and husbandmen of this district preserve the same general character, though the frequent and unavoidable intercourse with the city, which they are necessitated to maintain, has not been without its polluting effects."

Referring to the colliers of Duddingston, he says—"The degrading operation of that state of villainage from which they have so recently escaped, the corrupting tendency of that injudicious management by which they have since been influenced, their irregular, and sometimes exorbitant gains, which at one time overstocks, and at another starves them, and which commonly puts it in their power, by the fruit of three days' labour, to pass the rest of the week in absolute idleness, or in sottish indulgence; nay, the very darkness, dirt, and unrestrained intercourse which prevails in their subterranean regions, unawed by the eyes or the opinions of the world above, may all combine to produce or to aggravate this degradation of manners. In the colliery of Duddingston there have been some agreeable exceptions to this general description, though its application to the prevalent hue of such scenes of darkness is too legitimate and congruous. . . . The spirit of religion, however, is not so prevalent or general in this place as to produce effects which can be very ostensibly visible, or extensively felt. A great proportion of the people, however, are regular and decent in their atten-

* *Old Statistical Account.*

dance upon religious exercises, and display a correspondent practice in the integrity, usefulness, and beneficence of their common conduct. The more defective are certainly, in the language of the usual comparative and consolatory apologies of the world, not worse than their neighbours."

This qualified and rather guarded apology for the condition of morals and religious life in the parish at the end of the last century seems to indicate a hopeless inability on the part of the minister to cope with the difficulties which surrounded him. Mr Bennet has been credited with being a naturalist of some ability, and in the investigation of the zoology, geology, and botany of his parish especially he has left us the result of his labours in a most interesting sketch in the *Statistical Account*. In the latter science especially he seems to have found ample variety to stimulate his studies. His description of the flora of the parish will be found to be full and fairly accurate.

Mr Bennet's ministry was brought to a sudden and melancholy close on the 15th April 1805. Whether by accident or of his own accord we cannot tell, but he was drowned in the loch, his dead body being found in the water near to the manse.

At the time of his death he was a comparatively young man, in his forty-second year. He had been married in 1787 to Mary, daughter of Mr John Archibald, wine merchant, Leith, by whom he had a family of two sons and one daughter. The eldest son was Patrick Bennet of Whiteside, and his second son, John, was afterwards minister of Ettrick. His daughter Margaret married William Clerk of Eldin, the early friend and companion of Sir Walter Scott, and like him, one of the chief clerks of the Court of Session.

Except his statistical account of the parish, the only other publication left by him was *Three Single Sermons*, published at Edinburgh between 1801-1805. It may be mentioned that he filled the honorary post of chaplain to the Eastern Regiment of Midlothian Volunteers.

CHAPTER XV.

DUDDINGSTON CHURCH *(continued)* 1800 TO 1898.
REV. JOHN THOMSON—REV. DR MACFARLANE—
REV. J. A. H. PATON.

AFTER the lamented death of the Rev. William Bennet in 1805, the parish of Duddingston remained for a few months without a minister. It was a much coveted place. Its beautiful situation, with its comfortable manse, looking out on one of the finest scenes to be found in Scotland; and its proximity to Edinburgh, with all the advantages of intercourse with cultured society and other attractions, made it at that time one of the prizes of the church. To a man of taste, combining with an eye for the beautiful in nature the poetic sense and discriminating faculty of analysis and reconstruction, as it finds scope either in letters or art, no residence and no occupation could be more delightful than that enjoyed by the minister of such a parish as Duddingston.

The patronage of the parish being at the time in the gift of the Marquis of Abercorn, powerful influence was brought to bear upon him in favour of the Rev. John Thomson, then minister of Dailly, in Ayrshire. Thomas Scott, W.S., the factor on the Duddingston estate, and brother of Sir Walter Scott, had a good deal to say in the matter, and largely through his influence the Marquis made a presentation in his favour, 26th August 1805, and he was admitted to the duties of the office on 14th November following. Bringing with him from the picturesquely secluded valley of the Girvan-water an artistic appreciation of its beauties, which he had cultivated from early childhood, his settlement in Duddingston marked the beginning of an artistic and ministerial career at once brilliant and successful.

We have already in a separate memoir and critical analysis of his work as an artist, gone fully into the details of his life, so that it is not needful to do more than to touch on these so far as they

refer to our local history.* Born in the parish of Dailly, 1st September 1778, John Thomson was the youngest son of the Rev. Thomas Thomson. After receiving his education at the parish school he completed his studies for the ministry at Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities, and was licensed as a preacher in 1799. On his father's death the same year, young Thomson,



DAILLY MANSE.

when only twenty-two years of age, was presented to the vacant charge, and had laboured with more or less success for five years among his father's people. His translation to Duddingston, however, opened up for him a new and wider field, and led to the development of those remarkable powers which afterwards distinguished him among the Scotsmen of his day.

As we have already indicated, the Duddingston Kirk Session was now a very small body. Suitable men for the office appear to have been scarce, and elections were few and far between. In 1806 the acting elders were reduced to only three, viz., Mr Andrew Bennet of Muckraw, John Thomson of Priorlatham, and John Robertson the session clerk. It was desirable some new blood should be introduced, and if it could not be got within the parish then it must be sought outside. At the beginning of the century the public life of Edinburgh was limited enough, and there were few outlets for displays of eloquence. The General Assembly was an outstanding exception, and consequently the office of ruling elder was frequently aspired to by practitioners at

*_John Thomson of Duddingston, Pastor and Painter._ A Memoir with Catalogue of his Paintings, and a Critical Review of his Works. By William Baird, F.S.A. Scot. Published 1895 by Andrew Elliot, Edinburgh.

the Scottish Bar, and others desirous of bringing themselves into notoriety in order that they might take a part in the forensic debates for which that body was then rather famous. There were consequently many lawyers then, as now, leading debaters in the Church courts, though whether to the advantage or disadvantage of the Church is another question. Be that as it may, the minister of Duddingston and his session singled out from the legal profession several names to be added to their number, and took steps to carry their resolution into effect; and as this is a matter in which Scotland's great romancer and poet—Walter Scott, had a part, we shall give the particulars as we find them in the records. It may be well to premise that Scott had for some years been intimate with Mr Thomson. Even before his admission to



THE VALLEY OF THE GIRVAN AT DAILLY.
(From a Picture by Rev. John Thomson).

the bar, when a student at college, Scott had been an intimate companion of his elder brother, Thomas Thomson, then a young advocate with whom John Thomson resided when at College in Edinburgh. In Thomson's lodgings in Bristo Street there were frequent jovial gatherings, where a life-long intimacy was formed among those who were afterwards some of the leading men of Scotland. Scott, Jeffrey, Thomas Thomson, Erskine, and Will Clerk were leading spirits in this circle, and there is no doubt that it was largely through their influence that Thomas Thomson's

young brother was presented by Lord Abercorn to Duddingston parish. Since those early student days Walter Scott had distinguished himself in the field of literature as the author of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* and *Border Ballads;* and had begun to write *Waverley*, though neither it nor his *Lady of the Lake*, nor *Marmion* were published for some years after. His brother Thomas Scott, W.S., was the factor on the Duddingston Estate, and as such had considerable influence in the parish and over the congregation. But, indeed, as will appear from the records following, the congregation seem not to have had much say or to have taken much interest in the matter. The first minute is dated Edinburgh, 12th March 1806, and runs as follows:—

The session of Duddingston having met and constitute, present the Rev. Mr Thomson, moderator; Mr Andrew Bennet, and John Thomson, Esq., of Priorlatham, elders. It was resolved to add the following gentlemen to their number:—Thomas Scott, Esq., W.S.; Walter Scott, Esq., advocate; William Clerk, Esq., advocate; and Thos. Miller, Esq., W.S.; and it was appointed that their edict should be served upon the Sabbath following, the 16th March.

Duddingston, 16th March 1806.

In conformity to the resolution of the session of this parish at their last meeting, when it was resolved to add to their number the following gentlemen:—Messrs Thomas Scott, W.S.; Walter Scott, advocate; William Clerk, advocate; and Thomas Miller, W.S.; their edict was this day regularly served, and their ordination appointed to be on Sabbath the 30th March.

Duddingston, 30th March 1806.

The previous steps having been regularly taken for the election of the above named persons to the office of eldership, they—viz., Mr Walter Scott, advocate; Mr William Clerk, advocate; and Thomas Miller, advocate; were accordingly ordained, and solemnly set apart to that office.

(Signed) JOHN ROBERTSON, *Session Clerk.*
JOHN THOMSON, *Moderator.*

From this it appears that Thomas Scott did not come forward for ordination along with the others. These signed the usual formula declaring their adherence to the Confession of Faith ratified in 1690, and their submission to the Presbyterian Church Government as settled by law. In April following his election and ordination in Duddingston Church, Scott was elected by the Magistrates and Council of Selkirk as their member and ruling elder at the May meeting of the General Assembly, where doubt-

less he took his seat. He held the same appointment in 1807. But not only did he take his seat in the Supreme Court of the Church, he was a member of Presbytery as well. From a minute of Duddingston Kirk Session of 15th December 1806 we find Walter Scott was then chosen to represent them in the Presbytery of Edinburgh and Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale. In later life it is true the great novelist had ceased to identify himself with the National Church, and Lady Scott's influence and sympathies were certainly with the Episcopal Church, but it is very doubtful if his convictions in favour of Presbyterianism as a system ever changed so much as his biographer would have us believe.

At the time of Mr Thomson's induction as minister of the parish there was only one place of worship within its whole area. Till within thirty years previous, the population had numbered only about one thousand souls, and with the exception of the little detached hamlets of Joppa, Magdalene Bridge, and the Salt Pans, had been chiefly confined to the landward part of the parish and the villages of Easter and Wester Duddingston. About the year 1763, a new settlement began to be formed in the parish at the mouth of the Figgate Burn, consequent upon the finding of a valuable bed of clay, and the starting of brick and tile making on rather an extensive scale by Mr William Jameson, an eminent builder and architect of Edinburgh. Mr Jameson having purchased forty acres of the Figgate lands, which at the time were a mere waste, covered for the most part with furze or whins, and commonly let to one of the Duddingston tenants for 200 merks, Scots—or £11 2s 2d sterling—began to build houses for himself and his workmen, and to sub-feu other parts of the ground for building purposes. The village of Brickfield or Figgate, as it was then called, grew with the progress of the various works, until by the end of the century there was a working class population of about 300, with a few families of the better class, who had commenced to make it a summer residence, and had built several villas among the furze-covered sand hills.

As early as 1794 the then minister of the parish—Mr W. Bennet—had evinced his interest in this outlying but yearly increasing part of his parish, by having an occasional Sabbath evening service, which he held in the store or loft of the White Lead Works, belonging to Mr James Smith, situated on the burn immediately behind Adelphi Place, near to where the hall connected

with the Portobello and Joppa Home Mission now stands. At length the increase of the population began to be so great, and the inconvenience of their distance from the church to be so much felt that in 1807-8 a movement was made to supply a place of worship in their own vicinity. After negotiations with the Kirk Session and the Presbytery, the subscribers acquired from the Marquis of Abercorn, a piece of ground, occupied at the time by the little red-tiled farm house of Rabbit Ha'. The farm-house with its offices were taken down, and in 1809 the Chapel of Ease was erected in its place. The first "preacher" appointed to the chapel was Mr Thomas Wright, who remained till 1814, when he was presented to the charge of the parish of Borthwick. On his resignation, the managers appointed Mr John Glen as "preacher" and under him the congregation throve so well that an addition had to be made to the chapel, and in 1818 the Presbytery was petitioned for its erection into a Chapel of Ease under their jurisdiction, and for the formal recognition and ordination of Mr Glen as their pastor. This movement was heartily supported by Mr Thomson. The petition of the managers and congregation was duly reported to the General Assembly, and that body having on 1st June approved of the establishment of the chapel, the Presbytery accordingly on the 9th July ordained Mr Glen as minister of the Portobello Chapel of Ease.

By the law of the Church at the time, the minister of the "chapel" had no seat in the Presbytery, or right to sit in the General Assembly, nor had the congregation over which he presided the right to have a Kirk Session of its own. The oversight of the congregation in the matter of discipline, administration of ordinances, such as baptism and the Lord's Supper, lay with Mr Thomson of Duddingston and his Kirk Session, and the Session at this time consisted of Louis Cauvin, David Scott, Walter Scott, William Clerk, and Thos. Miller. As the three latter were not acting local elders, the work of the Session was practically in the hands of Mr Thomson, L. Cauvin, and D. Scott, with Andrew Marshall, session clerk.

Cases of discipline, of which there are several recorded, were remitted from Portobello to Duddingston for settlement, and the Duddingston elders officiated at the Communion in the Portobello Chapel. In the matter of the maintenance of the poor, by an arrangement made by the Kirk Session and the chapel managers,

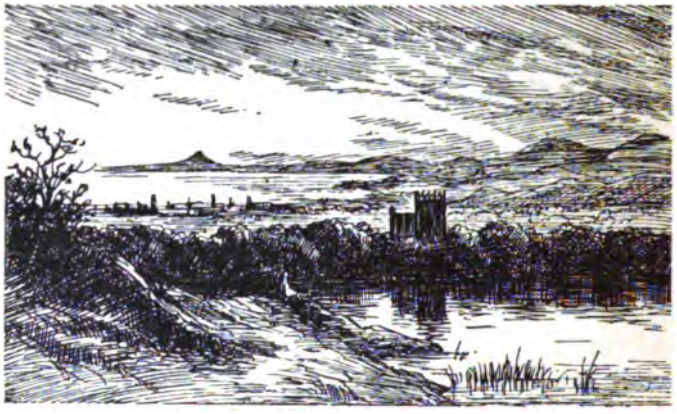
the latter undertook to provide out of the collections at the chapel door for the maintenance of the poor of Portobello village "in all time coming," the Kirk Session providing as hitherto for the landward part of the parish. This continued down to the year 1833, when the chapel managers, finding that the charge for upholding the poor had increased from £20 a year in 1818 to £100, threatened to devolve the whole duty of providing for the poor upon the Duddingston Kirk Session, "together with the whole ordinary collections made at the door of the chapel of ease," as the latter were quite inadequate, and the charge was proving a heavy burden upon the congregation. An arrangement was at length come to whereby the parish was divided into districts, viz., Landward and Portobello, vesting the management of the latter in the managers of the chapel and members of the Kirk Session of Duddingston resident within the Portobello district. It was further agreed that as the recently passed Poor Law Act gave the power of assessment, the seat rents and collections at the door both of the parish church and of the chapel of ease, as well as the other funds belonging to the heritors and kirk session on the one hand, and managers of the chapel on the other, should in future be kept separate and distinct, each party having the exclusive management and control of the same respectively.*

In 1823 Duddingston Kirk Session consisted of Mr Thomson, the moderator, Messrs Louis Cauvin, David Scott, Andrew Bennet of Muckraw, William Creelman, and Andrew Marshall, the latter being session clerk—Sir Walter Scott and the other advocates appointed in 1806 not having acted as elders for many years. By the death of Mr Cauvin and Mr Bennet in the following year the number was reduced to three, along with Mr Thomson. On 1st August 1824 Captain M'Kerlie was added to the Kirk Session. Mr D. Scott and Captain M'Kerlie continued for the next twenty-four years down to 1848 to be practically the Kirk Session of Duddingston along with Mr Thomson, and afterwards with his successor, Dr Macfarlane. The only alteration during that long period was the appointment in 1828 of George Brown, teacher, as session clerk in the room of Andrew Marshall, who appears to have died in that year.

In 1824 a proposal was made by the managers of the Portobello chapel to establish a burying ground there on the plea that

* *Portobello Records of Managers.*

Duddingston churchyard was overcrowded, and was unsafe. Body snatching for anatomical purposes was at this time of common occurrence, and in many churchyards, particularly near to large cities such as Edinburgh and Glasgow, precautions had often to be taken to prevent the nefarious intentions of the "resurrectionists." In Duddingston, watchers were set nightly to guard the churchyard, and not content with this, the tombs of those who could afford it were frequently protected with strong iron guards



DUDDINGSTON CHURCH AND LOCH.
(From a Painting by Rev. John Thomson.)

or railings, called "safes," many of which still remain, particularly on the tombs round the boundary walls. Midnight adventures were frequent, and the following story if true is certainly extraordinary:—

A notorious "body snatcher" in Edinburgh, named John Samuel, who did an extensive business in this way for the College of Surgeons along with a certain Dr Martin Eccles, had an exciting adventure in Duddingston Churchyard. The two of them had gone one night to take up the body of a young lady of the name of Stewart, who had died in the village and been interred in the old churchyard there. They were busy with their task, and had nearly finished shovelling back the earth into the grave, when to their unutterable surprise and alarm, the corpse, which they had considered to be "dead as Julius Cæsar," suddenly electrified them with a resounding sneeze. They at once dropped their tools, and rushing towards the body were amazed

to find the young lady reviving. The sequel may be better imagined than described. This is no doubt the original story of many of the mythical accounts of a sexton cutting off the woman's finger for the sake of the diamond ring on it. At all events the secret of Miss Stewart's restoration was long ascribed to the covetous sexton in order to shield the doctor.*

The proposal of the Portobello managers for a burying ground there was not received with favour, and in consequence of the opposition of the heritors and kirk session of Duddingston, the Marquis of Abercorn as superior, and various inhabitants residing in the neighbourhood of the chapel, who threatened law proceedings, the scheme was for the time abandoned. In order to conciliate the Portobello managers, three members of their congregation were elected in April 1828 as members of the Kirk Session, viz., Captain Andrew Barclay, Lieutenant Donald Gilchrist, and Mr Archibald Scott, but these gentlemen seldom attended the meetings; their duties being more in the way of attending to the welfare of Portobello chapel. In 1830 the Kirk Session had again the question of a rival burial ground under consideration. This time it was raised by the determination of the managers or proprietors of the Episcopal Chapel of St Mark's, to form a public burying ground in Portobello. Their proposal had at first been opposed by Mr Swan, the proprietor of the neighbouring villa of Sallyville (now known as Selville), on the ground that it would be a nuisance to his property. After some litigation Mr Swan then asked the Duddingston Kirk Session to take up the case as an infringment of their rights. They agreed to do so, with concurrence of the heritors, on his guarantee being given for payment of the expenses on the ground that the establishment of another burying ground was an encroachment on the revenue of the poor funds, and that there was no want of room in the parish churchyard. After some litigation, chiefly conducted by Mr Swan, a decision was given in favour of St Mark's Chapel, and accordingly the burying ground there was opened. But Mr Swan having in the meantime become bankrupt, the Kirk Session were ultimately obliged to pay the expenses of the suit.

The decision speedily led the managers of the Portobello Chapel of Ease to resume their efforts, and after some negotiations with parties interested, the churchyard there was at length opened for

*See *Chap-book Memoirs.*

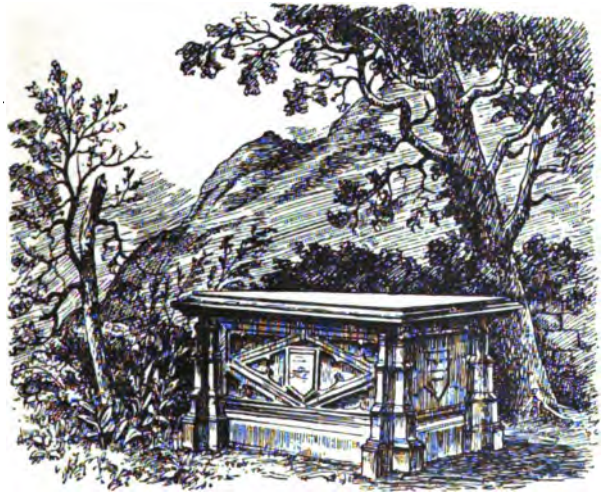
interments in October 1834. In the same year the passing of the Chapels of Ease Act by the General Assembly raised the chapel to the ecclesiastical status of a parish church, *quoad sacra*; and having accordingly elected a Kirk Session of their own, those representing Portobello withdrew altogether from taking any part in the affairs of Duddingston Church.

During Mr Thomson's ministry in Duddingston a great improvement was effected in the service of praise, hitherto a far too much neglected feature of the Presbyterian worship. This was largely due to the influence of Mrs Thomson, who was a lady of great musical talent, and in this respect, like the minister himself, a musician and an artist. She was at great pains to encourage among the young people of the parish a taste for music, especially sacred music, and formed a choir in 1826 to lead the service of praise in the church. Duddingston was one of the very few Presbyterian churches of that time where such an "innovation" was known and allowed. The class, drawn from the parish, and even from Edinburgh, met for practice once a week in the manse, and were accompanied by Mr Thomson on the violin, his son Frank on the violoncello, and Mrs Thomson on the piano; while they were frequently assisted by John Wilson, afterwards the celebrated singer of Scotch songs, and other eminent musicians.

Mr Thomson, though professing to be merely an amateur, from the time he came to Duddingston till the close of his ministry of thirty-five years devoted much of his leisure time to painting. As an artist he is recognised as occupying a leading place among the artists of his day and a pioneer in the Scottish school of landscape. His work, much sought after by dukes, earls, and squires, now adorns many of their palatial houses, while he himself was the courted companion of the leading intellectual circles of the metropolis. Sir Walter Scott, one of his elders, was a frequent guest at the manse, and loved dearly to loiter in its garden and muse under the venerable ash tree, which unhappily in these last years of the century has disappeared from the landscape, for it fell on a calm summer day of 1895 from sheer old age and decay. Clerk of Eldin, Principal Baird, Professor Wilson, Brewster, Jeffrey, Cockburn, Hogg, and Sir Thos. Dick Lauder spent many a happy evening with the minister's family, while artists from far and near were always welcome, among whom may be mentioned such familiar names as J. M.

W. Turner, "Grecian" Williams, Sir David Wilkie, Sir Francis Grant, Wm. Bell Scott, Macculloch, Sir Daniel Macnee, and Thomson's son-in-law, Robert Scott Lauder. A great advance has, of course, been made in this country in art as well as in other things since Thomson's time; but while he undoubtedly exercised a more potent influence in the art of his day than he might possibly do now, his pictures are still admired as models of composition and striking effect.

John Thomson of Duddingston, pastor and painter, died at Duddingston on the 28th October 1840 at the age of sixty-two; and an elegant monument was erected over his grave in the north-west corner of the churchyard overlooking the loch, on which a Latin inscription tells us that it is "Sacred to the memory of John Thomson; a man revered and greatly beloved, for nearly thirty-five years minister of this church, who on account of the exceptional gifts of his genius, the gentleness and purity of his



THOMSON'S TOMB.

disposition, and his extreme benevolence will not soon be forgotten by his friends. He died on the fifth day before the calends of November A.D. 1840, aged sixty-two years." Of his character and genius we say no more. His pastorate of the parish if not distinguished for eloquence in the pulpit was one of loving interest in the people, and among the poor especially, the influence

of the manse in deeds of charity and Christian sympathy was more telling even than many sermons.

On the death of the Rev. John Thomson, a presentation to the vacant charge was made by the Marquis of Abercorn in favour of the Rev. James Macfarlane, at that time minister of St Bernard's Church, Stockbridge. In January 1841 we find from a minute of kirk session, presided over by Dr Clason, the interim moderator, arrangements were made for the formal call of the people, and "The Session Clerk laid before the session a roll of male heads of families, communicants in the church, the number being 29 in all." The call having been duly signed, Mr Macfarlane was inducted by the Presbytery on 18th May following.

The new minister, the second son of the Rev. John Macfarlane, minister of the Relief Congregation, Bridgeton, Glasgow, was born at Waterbeck, 27th April 1808. Being destined by his father for the Church, he was educated at Glasgow University, and after the usual course at the Divinity Hall was licensed by the Presbytery of Glasgow on 31st March 1830. In January of the following year he was elected and presented by the Town Council of Stirling to the third charge in that town, and was ordained minister of the North Church on 3rd May. He did not remain in Stirling long; for having been elected minister of the Stockbridge Chapel of Ease, now St Bernard's Parish Church, he demitted his charge, 10th January 1832, and removed to Edinburgh. At that time the Buccleuch Church, Newington Church, and St Bernard's were under the jurisdiction of the Kirk Session of St Cuthbert's—the mother church of the new congregations then outside the city of Edinburgh. In this sphere Mr Macfarlane laboured zealously and well for nine years. Immediately after his translation to Duddingston he married (15th July 1841) Miss Agnes Jane Goodsir, the daughter of Mr Alexander Goodsir, the secretary and afterwards manager of the British Linen Bank.

Surprise may be felt that a minister with Mr Macfarlane's energy should have left a thriving city congregation like St Bernard's to take the pastorate of a small country church such as Duddingston; but we don't pretend to explain his motives. The attractive situation of the latter as a residence may have been one element in the case, or probably the increasing value of the living may have had its influence, for the stipend which, when

Thomson went to it in 1805, was only some £75 in money, and in grain 3 chalders, had risen gradually, until in 1840 it was—"18 chalders, consisting of 2 of wheat, 8 of barley, and 8 of meal, with £5 12s 11d of money, and £10 for communion expenses. Or, when converted into money, averaged £300. Glebe, manse, and garden, £45—in whole, including money and allowance for communion, £360 12s 11d." *

The great question at that time agitating the Church and the country was hastening to a crisis. The administration of the law of patronage, bringing the courts of the Church into conflict with one another, and also in several cases with the civil courts, led ultimately to the famous appeal of the Church in the "Claim, Declaration, and Protest," which was rejected by Parliament in 1843.

The Disruption of the Church took place on 18th May 1843 in presence of the Queen's Commissioner—the Marquis of Bute—by the withdrawal of the moderator, Dr Welsh, with a large following of ministers and elders, to a separate place of meeting, where the first General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland was constituted by the appointment of Dr Thomas Chalmers as its moderator.

The Rev. James Macfarlane of Duddingston was one of those who adhered to the Church remaining in alliance with the State, and so retained his manse and church. The minister of the *quoad sacra* Parish Church of Portobello, the Rev. John Glen, was one of those who "came out." And though after the Disruption he was unable through infirmity to do duty as a minister, he took a great interest and an active part in the establishment of the Free Church congregation of Portobello, which secured the services of the Rev. James Cowe, afterwards minister of Free St Stephen's, Glasgow. By the residuary General Assembly of 1843, after the Free Church party had left, the various reforming acts of the ten preceding years were for the most part rescinded and annulled; among others they expunged from their records the acts affecting the status of chapels of ease, &c. By these proceedings the Parish Church of Portobello was declared to be no longer a Parish Church, but merely a Chapel of Ease, without a kirk session, and once more subordinate to the ministers and elders of Duddingston. The heavy burden and responsibility of conducting the

*New Statistical Account.

affairs of the Portobello Church over and above his own parochial work were thus thrown upon Mr Macfarlane; and until the appointment of the Rev. W. S. Blackwood, in February 1844, he appears to have done his utmost to further the interests of the congregation worshipping in Melville Street Church in the crippled condition in which they found themselves after the Disrup-



THE MANSE FROM THE LOCH.

tion for want of office-bearers. At a meeting of Duddingston Kirk Session on 18th November 1844, a memorial was submitted from the managers of the chapel at Portobello, "stating the inconvenience to which the congregation was subjected in consequence of the want of elders, and requesting the kirk session to adopt measures to remedy the inconvenience." The kirk session expressed their sympathy with the Portobello congregation in the peculiar state in which they found themselves, and their anxiety to do everything in their power to accede to their request, but "on account of the difficulties of the case, and as there are similar cases in other parishes within the bounds of the Presbytery, which it is desirable to regulate by a general principle of procedure, the kirk session refer the memorial to the Presbytery for consideration," and instructed the Clerk to send an extract of this deliverance to Mr Robert Scott as representing the managers. Nothing more was done for several years. At length in March 1848, the kirk session being repeatedly urged in the

strongest terms to consider "the absolute necessity of immediately appointing elders for the assistance of the minister in the superintendence of the people," took the matter up in earnest, and resolved to elect four elders out of the Portobello congregation to be members of the Duddingston Kirk Session, with a view to their attending more particularly to the affairs of the Chapel of Ease. This evidently was not done a day too soon, for the memorial of the Portobello managers goes on to say "that if further time were lost in so doing, they respectfully state that the congregation will not be easily kept together."

Those chosen by the kirk session to be added to their number were Lieutenant-Colonel James Johnston (afterwards Provost of Portobello for eleven years), William Drew, shoemaker, High Street; David James Dickson, Mount Charles; and Robert Mercer, W.S., Ramsay Lodge—all residing in Portobello, and they were duly ordained on Sabbath, the 26th March 1848, by Dr Macfarlane, who had just the month previous received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Glasgow University. A further addition was made to the eldership in 1851 by the appointment of Mr Smollet Montgomerie Edington. As a matter of fact, the kirk session now consisted of two bodies in one, for the ordinary Duddingston parochial business continued to be attended to by the two old elders—Mr David Scott and Captain Robert M'Kerlie—down to the year 1854; while the Portobello elders, except in cases of discipline coming from their own congregation, seldom appeared at the meetings.

During the greater part of Dr Macfarlane's incumbency, at least from 1842 to 1855, the Session Clerk was Mr Andrew Taylor. In the latter year Mr Andrew Paterson, the teacher of the Parish School, was appointed to the office, and held it till 1858, when he was deposed, and Rev. Mr Biggar, master of Cauvin's Hospital was appointed interim clerk. He held office for nearly two years, and on his retirement, the duties were discharged till 1862 by Mr Turpie, also of Cauvin's Hospital. In November 1862 Mr Thomas Kelly, who had been appointed to the office of schoolmaster, was appointed session clerk, and acted as such till 1865, when he was appointed to the Parish of Dreghorn, in Ayrshire. He was succeeded as teacher and session clerk by Mr John Henderson, who held both offices till 1877, when he was followed by the present clerk, Mr Joseph

M'Vey. In 1863, we find that only one member of the kirk session remained besides Dr Macfarlane—viz., Mr Mercer. Mr M'Kerlie, had died in 1855 ; Mr Dickson, in 1859 ; Mr D. Scott, in 1860, at the long age of 94 ; and Colonel Johnston, in 1862. But, in order to carry on the business, the Presbytery had appointed in March 1862, the Rev. John Stewart of Liberton and the Rev. John Wallace of Portobello, to act as assessors in the kirk session, and this they continued to do till March 1864, when the following were elected to the eldership—viz., Rev. David M. Turpie, Mr Andrew Heriot, joiner ; and Mr Thomas J. Kelly, schoolmaster.

In May 1865 Dr Macfarlane had the high honour conferred on him of being appointed Moderator of the General Assembly as successor to Dr Pirie of Aberdeen, the onerous duties of which important office, in the words of a leading contemporary, "he discharged with taste and ability," attending very closely during the sittings. In the summer of this year the condition of the fabric of the old church seems to have occasioned some uneasiness. Dr Macfarlane submitted the matter to the Presbytery, and the church being found to be in a dilapidated and unsafe condition, he was authorised to have the necessary work done. The "repairs" unfortunately included the taking



OLD INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH.

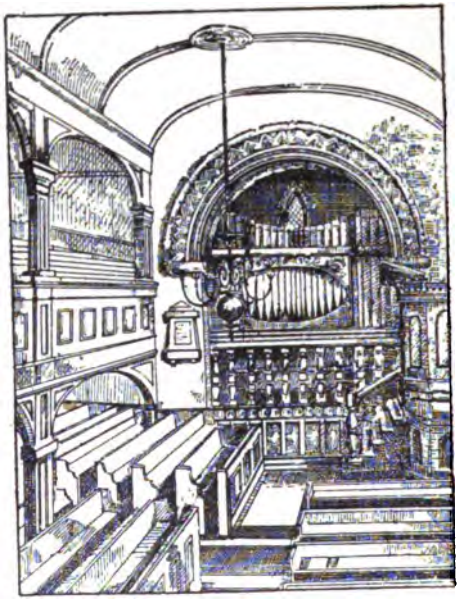
down of the large stone pillar supporting the two arches of the Prestonfield aisle, and the substitution of a plain cast-metal pillar supporting the gallery, in the worst taste possible—an alteration which for a time very much destroyed the internal appearance of the old building, but which has been in a measure rectified by the more recent alterations already referred to at page 171.

Towards the end of the year Dr Macfarlane was laid aside by illness from ministerial duty, and gradually getting worse, he died on 6th February 1866, in the thirty-third year of his ministry, at the age of fifty-eight. On Saturday afternoon his mortal remains were interred in the old churchyard of Duddingston, immediately in front of the quaint old Norman doorway, long built up, which has been described on page 169 of this work.

For many years Dr Macfarlane was a leading man in his Presbytery; though he was neither in the pulpit nor as a public debater distinguished for brilliancy of wit or gift of eloquence, he was endowed with a considerable amount of common-sense sagacity, which gave him weight and influence among his coadjutors. "He belonged," as the *Scotsman* of the day said, "to what may be called the 'narrow' school both of Church and State, but his natural abilities were considerable, and his zeal undoubted." During his life Dr Macfarlane frequently issued publications on the current political and ecclesiastical topics of the day, which are generally marked by fairness and candour in their treatment of opponents. The following among others may be named:—*A Nation's True Glory*, 1838; *Three Single Sermons*, published Edinburgh, 1839-1843, 8vo.; *Remarks on the Tracts lately published on the Intrusion of Ministers on Reclaiming Congregations*, Edinburgh, 1839, 8vo.; *Letter to Sir James Graham on the proposed Abolition of Tests*, Edinburgh, 1845, 8vo.; *The Late Secession from the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1846, crown 8vo.; *A Glance at the Temple*, Edinburgh, 1847, crown 8vo.; *The Church and the Nation*, 1849, 8vo.; *Another Contribution to the Times, being Three Letters on Popery and its Tendencies*, Edinburgh, 1854, 8vo.; *The Disciple whom Jesus loved*, Edinburgh, 1854, crown 8vo.; *Indian Mission of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1856, 8vo. A small work entitled *The Railway*, the last of his publications, appeared in 1863.

Dr Macfarlane was succeeded in the pastorate of Duddingston by the Rev. John Allan Hunter Paton, the present incumbent.

He received his presentation to the parish from the late Duke of Abercorn in the year 1866, and was inducted by the Presbytery in September of the same year. A student of Glasgow University, Mr Paton, after being licensed, had served with acceptance in various charges, first at Corsock Mission Station in Dumfriesshire, then as assistant in the important city charge of St Andrews parish in Edinburgh, under Dr Crawford and Dr John Stewart, from which he was transferred to the parish of Crawfordjohn in Lanarkshire, where he was ordained in 1862.



MODERN INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH.

It is not necessary we should enter into particulars as to the events of the period that have intervened since Mr Paton's settlement in Duddingston. Suffice to say that the congregation has considerably increased in numbers, the attendance is large and encouraging, and the appearance and comfort of the church are immensely improved since the alterations on the interior in 1889, it being now one of the most interesting and attractive parish churches to be found in Scotland, thanks to the energy and taste of its pastor, willingly backed by his people. Several elections of elders to the kirk session have taken place at intervals. In 1869 the following gentlemen were elected by the congregation :—Messrs Robert Brockley, teacher in Cauvin's Hospital ; Thomas Spied Thomson, draper ; and William Wilson, gardener. In January 1877, Dr Stevenson Macadam, Mr Alexander Gray, and Mr Julius Adolphus Breysig were elected—being resident in Portobello—chiefly with a view to supervise the mission station established by the session in 1874 in that town. In 1880 Mr

Henry Seton and Mr Wm. G. Connacher were added; in 1883, Mr Thomas Simpson, farmer, Duddingston Mains; and again in 1888 the following were chosen for the office—Messrs William Reid, John M. G. Coutts, John Purves, and Wm. S. Muir. The kirk session at present consists of Messrs J. M. G. Coutts, Wm. S. Muir, John Purves, William Reid, and Thomas Simpson.

The mission station in Portobello referred to was organised by the session on the requisition of a number of the inhabitants of the town connected with the Established Church, who considered that the *quoad sacra* church in Melville Street did not sufficiently meet the wants of the increasing population, especially for that part of the town south of the High Street still in the parish of Duddingston. Under the active ministry of the Rev. Wm. Adam Stark, now minister of Kirkpatrick-Durham in Dumfries, a considerable congregation was formed, which met in the Town Hall. On Mr Stark leaving in 1876 he was succeeded by Rev. Mr Darling, who after a year or two, was called to St Andrew's Church, Rodney Street, Liverpool. For a time the mission experienced vicissitudes of fortune, but under the ministry of the Rev. James Oliver, the present pastor, it now bids fair to establish itself as a full charge. In 1894, the congregation, which up to that time had been worshipping in the Town Hall, purchased a small iron church which they erected in the grounds of Argyle House. Since then the congregation of St James' Church has steadily increased in numbers and influence, and is now practically free from the controlling hand of the Duddingston Kirk Session, though still looking to the Parish Church for moral support.

The history of Duddingston Church, which we have traced at some length from the twelfth century to the present day, is of interest to us as an exhibition of all that is best and most enduring in the life of the parish, not unmixed, it must be said, with much that is weak, erring, and curious. The influence for good of the Christian community in every town or parish is often a potent factor in its outward prosperity and well-being. We do not profess to be able to judge the extent or depth of that influence in our parish. It may at times have been impotent enough, but let us be thankful for what of it there was and is. If it teaches us any lessons for the present and future this record will not have been written in vain.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PARISH SCHOOLS.

THE influence of the parochial schools of Scotland has been very strong, seconding if not going before, the work of the Church, in the physical and intellectual improvement of the country. The first effort of the Scottish Parliament to promote the education of the people was made in 1494, when it was enacted under a penalty of £20 Scots that all Barons and substantial freeholders should send their eldest sons to school, and afterwards to other seminaries to get a knowledge of the laws of the realm. At the Reformation it was proposed by John Knox in the *Book of Discipline* that schools should be established in every parish, grammar schools in every town, and universities in the cities. In 1616 the bishops were authorised in conjunction with the heritors, to establish a school in every parish, and to assess the lands for the support of the schoolmaster, for the advancement of true religion, and the training of children "in civility, godliness, knowledge, and learning." This Act was not at the time generally enforced, but it was confirmed by the Parliament in 1633, and under its authority schools were established throughout the country.

From an early period there had been two schools in the parish of Duddingston. One was situated in Wester Duddingston, the Parish School proper, under the management of the minister and heritors, and the other in Easter Duddingston under the charge of the kirk session. The teacher of the Parish School has in addition to his duties as teacher been generally the session clerk, registrar, and sometimes, when so qualified, the precentor; by which means his small income as teacher has in some measure been eked out. We may form some idea of the remuneration allowed in our parish for these offices, by the statement made in the Statistical Account of 1796 by Mr Bennet—"The provision for the teacher, as has so often been lamented in similar cases, is deplorably diminutive and inadequate to the importance and suc-

cessful exercise of the office. The legal salary is £9 per annum. The perquisities arising from the conjoined office of session clerk and the school fees, may one year with another amount to £16—in all £25 per annum." It appears that the number of scholars at that time was about forty. The fees per quarter—Latin and arithmetic, 2s 6d ; reading of English and writing, 2s ; reading of English alone, 1s 6d ; or as it is commonly paid by the children of the labouring people, who form the great proportion of the school, 1½d per week ; certainly poor enough living. The depressed condition of the scholastic profession in Scotland having at last attracted the attention of Parliament, an Act was passed in 1803, which raised the maximum salary of parochial teachers to £22 4s 5d, and the minimum to £16 13s 4d exclusive of fees, and declared that a dwelling house of *not more* than two rooms should be provided for the schoolmaster, but at the same time deprived all heritors, except those who possessed £100 of valued rent, of all share in the election of the teacher, and the management of the school, and placed the teachers wholly under the jurisdiction of their respective presbyteries, depriving them of all right of appeal to the superior courts. The Act further provided that the salaries are to be revised every twenty-five years, the average price of grain during the preceding twenty-five regulating the salary during the succeeding twenty-five. At the first revision in 1828 an addition was made to the salaries of the parochial teachers, the maximum was raised to £34 4s 4d, the minimum to £25 13s 3d ; but at the second revision in 1853 these sums were reduced nearly one-third. In the parish school of Duddingston in 1845 we find the teacher has the "legal accommodation," with £34 4s 4d, or the maximum salary, and the perquisites from the offices of session clerk, etc. At that time, the fees had risen to 6s per quarter for Latin, English reading, 3s ; writing, 3s 6d ; and arithmetic, 4s ; and the number of scholars was close on 100.

The following is a list of the various schoolmasters of the parish so far as we have been able to ascertain their names. The earliest of whom we have any mention is John Lin, who was teacher from 1631 to 1662. From the old records in the Register House we find that in his time the parish was provided with a new school house, which seems to have been a plain thatched building, as the following entries will show :—"8th October 1654—The Thessaurer gave by direction to Simon Ramage in Fisher-

raw for the remaynes of certain daillys [deals] which was bought for the new school, four pounds." From "the compt of the charges disbursit out of the box be James Robertson, Thessaurer" we have the following:—"Som given fore ane garron trie* to be a pann for the school, threttie shillings." "Mair given for twa daills to be ane dore to the school, twentie shillings." "For half ane hundred naills to that dore, fyve shillings." "Ane lock to school dore, forte fyve shillings." "Given for five thrave† of thatch for thicking of the school, twentie-fore shillings." "For drawing of thatch for school, twentie shillings." Truly this must have been a very humble seminary of learning! It will also be noticed that if the erudition extended to Latin and sometimes Greek there seemed to be no established rule for the spelling of English—the same word occurring on the same page in various forms! For over thirty years the register of births, deaths, and marriages, now preserved in the Register House, are in Mr Lin's handwriting. He seems to have taken some pride in keeping these in good order. His penmanship in the old court hand of the period is exceedingly neat, and is to be found in several extant legal documents, in one of which he is described as "Reader at Dudingstoune." As he was also session clerk, the minutes of kirk session must have been written by him, but unfortunately the earlier ones have been lost. The earliest recorded minutes now extant date from 1653, and are to be found in the Register House interspersed with notices of irregular marriages, collections at the church door, payments to the poor, &c. In none of these entries, ranging over a long series of years, is the handwriting of John Lin excelled by any of his successors in office.

William Allan, who had married John Lin's daughter Janet, 26th June 1657, and belonged to Prestonpans, being probably the schoolmaster there, succeeded his father-in-law in Duddingston in 1662, holding along with his other offices the post of precentor in the church. In 1674 he is entered in the Register of Sasines along with his wife as proprietors of "ane piece of land and three coat houses in Wester Duddingston." He lived to a good

* The Ridge-pole or runtree, sometimes called the pann, upon which the couples are fixed.

† A thrave—twenty-four sheaves of corn. Burns in his lines "To a mouse," uses the expression—"A daimen-icker in a thrave's a sma' request," *i.e.*, an ear of corn in twenty-four sheaves.

old age, and was upwards of 38 years schoolmaster of the parish. His death took place in 1710, and he appears to have been succeeded by John Colme, who was teacher, &c., for only a few months, being followed by Joseph Grier, 1710 to about 1734. Andrew Kennedy succeeded him, and was clerk till 1744; William Panton, 1744 to 1747; James Philips, 1747 to 1755; Alex. Morrison, 1760 to 1763; Robert Garrow, 1763 to 1767; Joseph Henderson, 1768; Thomas Sharp, 1773 to 1776; Thomas M'Kill, 1776 to 1797; John Robertson, 1806 to ——; Thomas Shirran, 1820; Andrew Marshall, 1821 to 1828; George Brown, 1829 to 1841; Andrew Taylor, 1842 to 1850; Robert Primrose Paterson, 1850 to 1862; Thos. J. Kelly, 1863 to 1865; and John Henderson, 1865 to 1877. The present teacher is Mr John M'George Coutts.

The Easter Duddingston School stood on a different footing, being subsidiary to the Parish School, and instituted chiefly by and for the benefit of the tenants of that village. It was supported by contributions under the management of the kirk session, who appointed the teacher. Very few of the names of these have been preserved. In 1714 William Brown was the teacher of Easter Duddingston. In 1715 John Dobby having satisfied the session of his "capacity to teach English and writing they doe constitute him schoolmaster there, for which, besides the ordinary wages from the scholars, he is to get fourtie merks of sallary yearly from the session, commencing from Martinmas last." In 1747, George Allan, the schoolmaster, was removed to Inveresk. In 1748, we find Lord Milton, the then Lord Justice-Clerk, who resided at Brunstane House, agreeing to its continuance and support. The funds at that time, being evidently inadequate even for the very small salary, we learn that "Mr Bennet reported to the session, that upon George Allan being removed to Inveresk, Mr Scott and Mrs Horn, tenants in Easter Duddingston, had applied to him to have the vacancy supplied, and desired the session might empower him to give answer. The session, considering that their funds, out of which the schoolmaster had his allowance, were inconsiderable, and that the heritors, to whom application must be made for maintenance of the poor in case their ordinary funds were exhausted might blame them, if of their own proper motion, they should settle a schoolmaster on the funds belonging to the poor, they therefore resolved

to appoint some of their number to wait on the Lord Justice-Clerk and Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield to take their directions, as upon them with the other heritors, the maintenance of the poor must fall." *

At a meeting of session on 14th May following, it was reported by the minister that the Lord Justice-Clerk would take upon himself the charge of the poor's subsistence in the event of a shortcoming of the funds occurring by their paying the schoolmaster's salary, and that Sir Alexander Dick and Lady Cunningham also concurred, rather than shut up the school. In 1757 Mr Handaside was the schoolmaster in Easter Duddingston.

The school appears to have been kept on for the next hundred years on the same miserable allowance from the kirk session, to supplement the school fees, which must have been very low; for we find in 1845, that "the teacher of Easter Duddingston has a free house, and schoolhouse, with a salary of £5, and £2 6s 8d from the kirk session. His school fees are the same as charged at the Parochial School; but none of the higher branches is taught." †

The rise of Portobello in the immediate neighbourhood, and the large decrease of the population of Easter Duddingston, consequent upon the closing of the coal pits at Joppa a few years afterwards, rendered the necessity for a school in the village superfluous, and about the year 1860, it was finally closed. The schoolhouse stood in the middle of the village on the south side of the highway, and was conspicuous among the other cottages by a projecting porch over the doorway supported on two stout wooden pillars. Of late years, however, the porch has disappeared, and the doorways of this and neighbouring cottages being built up and new entrances made at the back, the picturesque aspect of the village has been much marred. Since the passing of the Education Act of 1872, the educational wants of the parish have been under the control of the School Board of Duddingston, and the School Board of Portobello. Under the latter, school accommodation is provided for 1100 children in two separate schools, with a large and efficient staff of teachers. In Duddingston the old Parish School continues to supply the wants of the village, but, of course, on a limited scale, the average attendance being one hundred pupils.

* *New Statistical Account.* † *Session Records.*

With the exception of one or two legacies of £100 left at various times to be invested for behoof of the poor, the Parish of Duddingston has been but little benefitted by mortifications or endowments for the advancement of religion or education.

There is, however, one educational institution founded in the present century which calls for some notice. At the angle of the cross roads near to Duddingston Mill, where the road from Duddingston to Portobello turns off towards Jock's Lodge and Parson's Green by the Willow Brae, stands Cauvin's Hospital. The founder of this institution was Louis Cauvin (Chauvin or Calvin), a teacher of French in high repute in Edinburgh for many years. Various accounts are given of his parentage, but it is not very clear what was the occasion of his father's settling as he did in Edinburgh about the middle of the eighteenth century. According to some accounts he was forced to expatriate himself from France in consequence of a fatal duel in which he had been implicated. According to others, he was brought over to Edinburgh as a witness in the "Douglas Cause," having served in the capacity of a footman in the family of Lady Jane Douglas for a considerable time during her residence in Paris. A portrait of him in a military costume is, we believe, still preserved, which seems to have been taken when he was quite a young man. After teaching for some years in Edinburgh he retired to a small farm near to Jock's Lodge, where he died in 1778, and was buried in Restalrig Churchyard.

His son Louis, after being educated at the High School and the University of Edinburgh, went to Paris, where he attended classes in the Sorbonne, and afterwards returned to Edinburgh as a teacher of French. He was most successful in his profession, and was honoured with the patronage of the better classes of the city.

The Poet Burns, on the occasion of his second visit to Edinburgh in the spring of 1787 superintending the printing of the second edition of his poems, attended an evening class along with John Beugo for their improvement in the French language, taught by M. Louis Cauvin; and these French lessons were resumed, we are told, when Burns, in the autumn of the same year, returned from his summer tour. So diligently and successfully did the poet apply himself, that Cauvin often stated he made more progress in the acquisition of the language in three

months than any of his ordinary pupils could have done in as many years.

When Cauvin retired from active work in 1818, he had acquired a considerable fortune. Imitating his father, he, on the relinquishment of his scholastic profession, rented the farm of Woodlands from the Marquis of Abercorn. During his occupation of this place he built on the opposite side of the road from his house the large villa called Louisfield, which afterwards became the hospital named after himself.

As an elder of the Parish Church he seems to have been most attentive in the discharge of the duties of the office. During the time he held office he was scarcely ever absent from the meetings of the kirk session. With the minister—the Rev. John Thomson—he was on the most intimate terms, they were in fact bosom friends, the artistic temperament of the one and the scholastic culture of the other forming between them a common bond of esteem and fellowship.

Cauvin did not like long sermons, and he had no hesitation in giving the minister the hint when he thought he had exceeded reasonable bounds. His seat was in the front gallery of the church, just opposite and not very far from the pulpit. He wore one of those large old-fashioned watches, with short heavy gold chain and bunch of seals attached, so common in those days, and when the sermon got a little "dreigh," he would lean himself gently against the book-board, take out his watch, and hang it over the front of the gallery, giving it a gentle swing by the chain to attract the minister's attention, as much as to say time's up! And we are told it generally had the desired effect, the good-natured minister meekly taking the hint and cutting short his discourse!

"In the prime of life Mr Cauvin was a fine looking man, though in his latter days somewhat corpulent, and more rubicund in his visage than was suited to the notion of a *beau garcon*. He always dressed well, being more like a nobleman of the ancient *regime* than a Scotch teacher. His attainments were not very varied; but he possessed a retentive memory, and the faculty of a quick and accurate discernment of character."* Of a very social disposition, he made many friends, one of the most intimate of these being his neighbour, Mr David Scott, the farmer of North-

* *Kay's Edinburgh Portraits.*

field, and a brother elder in the Parish Church. In *Kay's Edinburgh Portraits* they are represented as jogging along the road arm-in-arm together.

Cauvin died at Portobello towards the end of 1825, and was laid beside his father in Restalrig. By a codicil to his will dated, 28th April 1823, he gave the following instructions regarding his burial—"My corpse is to be deposited in Restalrig Churchyard, *and watched for a proper time.* The door of the tomb must be taken off and the space built up strongly with ashlar stones. The tomb must be shut for ever, and never to be opened. There is a piece of marble on the tomb door, which I put up in memory of my father; all I wish is that there may be put below it an inscription mentioning the time of my death. I beg and expect that my trustees will order all that is written above to be put in execution."

Until 1832 there was no legal means in Britain of procuring dead bodies for anatomical purposes, and the consequence was the evasion and sometimes even the open violation of the law by persons interested in supplying the surgical profession with subjects for dissection. The high prices, indeed, given for these subjects may almost be said to have created a lucrative and tempting trade which led to the most atrocious crimes; and murders, with no other object than the possession of the victim's body for the surgeon's knife, were frequently committed. The notorious case of Burke and Hare, tried and convicted before the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh in 1828, is a horrible illustration of the state of the law at the time, and of the position in which it placed surgical practitioners. As we have already mentioned, body snatching and grave desecration were common throughout the country, and particularly in the neighbourhood of such cities as Edinburgh and Glasgow, where the bodies could be readily disposed of to the profession. Hence there arose the custom of "watching" the churchyards by night, and covering over graves with iron guards or "safes." Restalrig Churchyard did not escape these depredations, any more than Duddingston, notwithstanding they were both well watched and guarded.

Louis Cauvin had a wholesome horror of his body being a subject of the dissecting knife, hence his strict injunctions as to his tomb. The following is the inscription which was placed there by his trustees:—"To the memory of Louis Cauvin, Esquire, for

many years an eminent teacher of French in Edinburgh, who bequeathed a fortune acquired by his own skill and industry to endow the hospital in the Parish of Duddingston, which bears his name. He died 19th December 1825, aged 71." The hospital he founded was opened in 1833 for the maintenance of twenty boys, sons of teachers and farmers in reduced circumstances, who are maintained in it for six years; whom failing, the sons of respectable master printers or booksellers, and the sons of respectable servants in the agricultural line, and who, when admitted, must be of the age of six, and not more than eight years. They are taught the ordinary branches of education, along with Latin, Greek, French, German, and mathematics.

The management of the institution was originally in the hands of certain individuals nominated by the founder, but is now vested in certain *ex-officio* trustees—viz., the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the Principal of the University, the Rector of the High School, the Ministers of Duddingston, Liberton, and Newton, the Laird of Niddrie, and the Factor to the Duke of Abercorn.

The disposition and settlement, under which the Trust is administered, is dated 26th May 1817, and by it Mr Cauvin assigned and conveyed to his Trustees his whole means and estate amounting to nearly £30,000, for the purposes named, and appointed his house of Louisfield and furniture, with its adjacent grounds, to be occupied as an hospital. This settlement was afterwards somewhat modified, and the governors were incorporated by a Parliamentary Statute in 1827.

Strict attention is paid to the comfort and happiness of the boys; and their progress in the various branches of education has hitherto, met with the approbation of the directors.

In 1888 a proposal was made by the Educational Endowments Commissioners to abolish Cauvin's Hospital, but without success. It was shown by the governors that the institution had been eminently useful to the classes for whom it was intended, and that many boys had found it a good home, and obtained there a start in life which had fitted them for occupying honourable positions in the world. The suggestion that it should be converted into a theoretical and practical college for instruction in agriculture was accordingly not carried out.

CHAPTER XVII.

DUDDINGSTON LOCH.

E once overheard a lady assert that if Duddingston Loch were a little more modest, it would not call itself a loch at all but merely a pond. It is true it is not now of great extent, being only about half-a-mile in circumference, and covering a surface of under twenty-five acres. It forms one of a series of sheets of water which the peculiar geological features of the district round Edinburgh made possible. Anciently there were seven of these, of considerable extent, of which only three remain—viz., Craigcrook, Lochend, and Duddingston; the others at Holyrood, Corstorphine, Gogar, and the Nor' Loch have been gradually drained, until they have entirely disappeared. Duddingston Loch covers now but a fraction of its original area. In all likelihood it extended in pre-historic times over the whole of the flat depression between Duddingston westward to Inch House. The level of the water is but a few feet below the 150 feet contour line, and it is supplied principally by springs commonly called the Wells o' Weary, rising at the foot of Samson's Ribs, while the outlet passes south eastwards into the Braid Burn near to Duddingston Railway Station.

Anciently when it covered the larger area, it would be supplied partly by the existing springs, and partly by the waters of the Braid Burn, and its tributary the Powburn, which now unite near Peffermill, but probably at first entered by separate mouths into the basin. These streams, according to Mr H. M. Cadell of Grange, in their original state, before modern improvements had altered their courses and the character of the surrounding land, were no doubt subject to powerful spates. Large quantities of alluvium would be swept down on these occasions from the high ground of the Braid and Blackford Hills, and deposited where the current slackened in the form of a flat delta at the western end of the loch. Gradually the alluvial fan pushed back the water and

spread over the greater part of the shallow basin, until at last this part of the depression was completely silted up, and the streams, uniting into one, parted company with their shrunken old friend the Loch, and passing it, left it to be maintained entirely by the springs and rills from the adjacent slopes of Arthur Seat. Such is Mr Cadell's theory, but it must be remembered that such changes must have been long before the historical period, probably before the bronze, or even the stone age of man.

The process however is still going on, for both at the east and west ends of the loch the reeds and water plants are year by year decaying and forming new soil, so that even within living memory its area has been visibly reduced.

The spring water of the district is abundant and of excellent quality, and the best evidence of its value is to be found in the fact that within the last ten years there has sprung up in the immediate neighbourhood of Duddingston Station an extensive malting and brewing industry covering many acres of ground, and drawing together a large population of artisans and others connected with the works. The breweries of Messrs Dryburgh and Company, Messrs William Murray and Company, and Messrs Pattison, Elder and Company are amongst the largest and best conducted in the whole country, their products commanding a high place in the commercial world. The wells by which these large works are supplied with water have to be sunk to a considerable depth but the results are always of the most satisfactory character.

Small though it now is, Duddingston Loch has unquestionably an interest of its own, such as few larger sheets of water in Scotland can boast of. There the botanist, the entomologist, the zoologist, the artist, find on its banks ample scope for their favourite studies ; while the fisher in summer and the skater and curler in winter find on its bosom sport enough.

The natural history of the Loch—its flora and its fauna—is unique. On the one hand, the botanist finds on its margin a wealth of specimens, unequalled anywhere within so limited an area, and on the other, the animal life in its neighbourhood for quantity and variety is quite extraordinary, more especially when its close proximity to a city is taken into account. There are, it is said, no less than 400 species of plants to be found in the Loch and on Arthur Seat, some of them peculiar to the locality. The

Rev. William Bennet, the minister of Duddingston from 1785 to 1805, has left us in the statistical account an enumeration of its flora, in which he says the Loch alone affords a curious variety of indigenious plants; of which perhaps the most remarkable are the submerged species, or as they are usually termed, the Inundatæ.

The chief economical, or agricultural uses which this beautiful assemblage of plants has hitherto served, is when by their decay they subside to the bottom of the loch, and form a rich black mould or mud, which has been found on trial to constitute an excellent manure. A hundred years ago this mud was extracted from the loch by the then proprietor, Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield, in great quantities, for the fertilising of the neighbouring land. Since this has long ceased to be done, the fear now is that the accumulation of matter being formed may ultimately come to silt up the loch altogether. Continuing, Mr Bennet says, "The reeds which grow at the west end of the loch in great luxuriance and plenty, and cover about five acres of ground, have been employed by weavers to supply their looms, and form besides a most valuable thatch for any species of houses, which by their strength and hardness of the fibres resists the attacks of sparrows, mice, and the common vermin which infest and deface straw roofs; and for the same reason will last incomparably longer than any common thatch, while a smaller quantity will suffice for the same work, and form a light, firm, and durable roof." He mentions also, that "the trefoil (menianthes trifoliata) is generally gathered carefully in the month of June for medicinal purposes by the emissaries of the laboratories."

That the flora of Duddingston Loch yields so great a variety of interesting specimens, is less wonderful, however, than the fact of the great variety of wildfowl which, notwithstanding their nearness to the city, still find among its reeds and banks a secure shelter. These are to be found in great numbers, and we have it on the authority of Tom Speedy, the author of that admirable volume, *Sport in the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland*, who has made Duddingston Loch his particular study, that there is no loch in Scotland which affords such a variety of aquatic birds.* Not to speak of the noble swans which give such picturesqueness to its surface, and which may be looked upon as tame birds

* For list of flora and fauna see Appendix.

(being placed there about 1680 by the Duke of Lauderdale), the loch abounds in ducks of different kinds, among which are the mallard, teel, pochard, tufted duck, and golden eye. The widgeon, scaup, pintailed duck, and even the osprey are occasional visitors, and Sir Alex. Dick of Prestonfield mentions in his diary under date 22nd December 1775, "Woodcocks have appeared, and wild geese in large flocks." Besides these there is a large variety of common small birds to be found, in addition to the coot and water hen, the water rail, the woodcock, the snipe, the jack snipe, the heron, the kingfisher, and several kinds of gulls. In a short article on "Wildfowl shooting at Duddingston Loch," contributed some years ago to *Land and Water*, Mr Speedy says :—

"It is an interesting study for the lover of natural history to observe the various kinds of beasts and birds which are to be found on and around this sheet of water. Besides those already named, amongst the reeds at the west end of the loch I have shot hares, rabbits, pheasants, partridges, and on one occasion saw a fox, while early one morning some years ago, a well-known Edinburgh poacher succeeded in shooting an otter. Among the rushes at the south side are to be found an endless variety of moths and insects, which perodically attract the entomologist. Though the bag secured rarely exceeds two or three brace of duck, and not unfrequently none at all, still from the many varieties, the sportsman has always the anticipation of acquiring something new. Mallard and teal are generally found among or near the reeds at the west end of the loch, consequently little difficulty is experienced in securing a shot at them. With the other varieties, however, it is otherwise, as they generally keep out of shot from the land. In the early part of the season a shot can sometimes be got from a boat by allowing it to drift down on them ; but after being shot at a few times they become wide awake, and take wing whenever they see it float out of the boat-house. As already observed, it is impossible to make a large bag, but as ducks are always on the water the glorious uncertainty of chance is most attractive. To go to the loch and be sure of getting only two shots and bagging a brace of ducks would not be considered worth going for by any sportsman of experience. Chance and contingency, which constitute the main charm and delight of sport, would be wanting. Sportsmen are all more or less endowed with a lively imagination, and if one was certain of getting a given number of shots and bagging a bird for each, very much of the mystery and glory would depart."

In this connection we cannot refrain from giving here a graphic account from the same pen of a couple of hours' duck stalking at the loch. It may be right to premise, however, that as the loch

forms a part of the estate of Prestonfield the shooting is preserved so far as the south and west sides are concerned. On the east side, being bounded by the Royal Park, shooting from the shore is strictly prohibited. It will be understood, therefore, that Mr Speedy on this shooting excursion was a privileged person. Says he:—

"Going down the cow-road I got on to the bridge which spans the St Leonard's railway, from whence a good view of the loch can be obtained. There are few finer sights in the environs of Edinburgh than the view of of the loch, with its rugged background. A number of white swans proudly swimming on the surface of the water add to the picturesqueness of the scene. Large numbers of coots, water hens, and dab chicks may be seen swimming about in conspicuous security close to the shore, while out in the middle of the loch numbers of ducks, consisting chiefly of pochards and golden-eyes, with a few scaup, and a brace of tufted ducks fill the picture. I was anxious to procure one of the latter, but from the distance they were from land, this seemed well nigh impossible. Walking about the water's edge was the means of making them swim towards the opposite side, and when sufficiently near the bank I stalked round behind the tall reeds at the west end in the hope of getting within range. On peering through the reeds I observed they were within easy distance of the water's edge, but unfortunately opposite the public park, where shooting is strictly prohibited. Getting within a hundred yards of them, I looked past a ledge of rock and watched their movements with great interest. The tufted ducks were nearest the land, and were busily engaged feeding, which they do at the bottom, coming up occasionally for air. Observing that they stayed down sufficient time to enable me to cover the ground that intervened, I made up my mind to secure the male which appeared to be a splendid specimen. In order to accomplish this, I must necessarily trespass on Government ground, and as the park-keeper's house was close by, I was not exactly sure of the consequences. Knowing, however that I could shoot over the loch from bank to bank, I resolved on running in the water close to the edge, and thus avoid breaking the law by shooting in the Queen's Park. Determined to act, I waited till the object of my anxiety appeared above the water and again dived. Jumping to my feet I quickly ran to a large stone opposite where he had disappeared. My sudden appearance naturally startled all the birds, causing the ducks at once to fly off, and the coots, half-flying, half-running on the water, speedily got out of shot. Even the swans appeared to wonder what was up as I ran floundering on among the stones, causing the water to splash over my head, till I arrived at the landmark referred to. By this time not a bird was within shot, but in a few seconds the tufted drake appeared within thirty yards, and getting sight of me at once took wing, when it immediately dropped to shot. 'Sweep' swimming in very soon secured it, and not feeling exactly com-

fortable within four feet of the shore I hurried back to my own legitimate territory. Before reaching it, the keeper arrived upon the scene, inquiring why I had trespassed upon the park. Assuring him that such was not the case (for I was still in the water), but not caring to argue the matter with him, I lost no time in moving off, proud of the splendid specimen I had secured. Thinking there would be no more chance of duck, I turned my attention to snipe, which are to be found in large numbers on the south and west sides of the loch. Changing cartridges I proceeded, but before getting a shot at snipe a brace of mallard rose out of the reeds, and though I was only loaded with small shot, both were added to the bag.

In addition to the water fowl frequenting the loch, otters have been found in the waters, and a solitary badger has at times provoked a stubborn chase. The pike, the perch, and a profusion of eels also abound, forming the subject of many a would-be Izaak Walton's angling efforts on a Saturday afternoon.

Reference has been made to the servitude over the "Common Myre" of the City of Edinburgh held by the Abbey of Kelso on behalf of their dependents and tenants of Duddingston. The burgh moor extended nearly to Duddingston Loch, and it would appear the city was under obligation to keep up the fences or dykes separating it from the royal park of Holyrood which, as laid out by James V., included Salisbury Crags and the whole of Arthur Seat, and was embraced within the sanctuary of the Abbey.

In 1536 we find James V. exercising his prerogative as the representative of the Crown (who had appropriated the confiscated Abbeylands) in a letter to the Town Council desiring them to give his "dailie and familiar servitour George Steill," a feu of the common lands adjoining the Loch, of which he said their "tenentis of Dudingstown has kepit and defendit their use and possessioun of the said common myre past memorie of man." Other property, then in private hands, adjoining the Loch, was bought up by the Crown about 1541 to be added to the Royal Park. Thus it is stated in the treasurer's accounts—"January 24th 1541-2.—Item—To Schir David Murray of Balwaird, Knight, in recompence of his lands of Dudingstoune tane into the new park besyde Holyrude House, £400."

In all probability the wall surrounding the park was built about this time. It appears to have fallen into disrepair however and to have been in such a ruinous condition in 1554, that the Government of Mary of Lorraine, the Queen Dowager, sent an

order to the Provost and Council, "anent the bigging of the sloppis [slaps or breaches] of the park dyke about Arthur Seat, etc.," which is referred to as follows in the minutes of the Council of 15th June 1554:—"The quhilk day the Provost, Baillies, Councle, dekynes craftis, with ane grate part of uther honest men of the burgh at the requeist of Marie Deowgiar and Regent of this realme, moder to our Soverane Lady the Queen's Grace, comperand be my Lord of Dunfermlyng and Sir Johnne Campbell of Laude, Knycht, her Grace's maister [of the] household, consentit to big [build] on thair expensis the haill sloppis [slaps] in the park dyke circulat about Arthur Sett, Salisberie and Duddingstoun Craggis, under the protestation that the samin prejugit nocht thame anent the calsay stanes quhilk thai wer in use to gett furth of the saidis craggs quhen thai had ado thairwith."

The work was accordingly done by the Council, as appears further from the burgh records of the same year:—"Item—Twa masons, twa weeks to big the Park dyke at the Loch side of Dudingstoun, and foreanent it again on Priestfield syde, ilka man in the week xv^{s} [15s]. Summa, iij^{li} [£3].

"Item—For ane lang tree to put on the wall that lys far in the Loch for outganging of wyld beists vj^{s}."

The first keeper of the Royal Park of Holyrood was John Tennant, who was appointed in 1540 by James V., at a salary of 100 merks, but afterwards it became a perquisite of the Duke of Hamilton until James VI. assigned it to Thomas Hamilton, the first Earl of Haddington, then proprietor of Priestfield, as hereditary keeper.

The office seems to have descended in the Priestfield family till 1691, when Sir James Hamilton was deprived of it for refusing to take the Test Oath. But it "was restored to him and his kinsman, Thomas, the sixth Earl of Haddington. Sir James having previously, in lieu of a pension, disponed this heritable office to Charles, the fifth Earl."*

Duddingston Loch is little disturbed by variations of level. Being fed, as we have already stated, by only a small stream from the "Wells o' Weary," it retains a pretty uniform depth of water, seldom or never overflowing it banks. One exception at least has to be recorded. On the 13th September 1744 a mighty water-spout broke over the western slope of Arthur Seat, where

* *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, P. 186.

after tearing up a channel or chasm which still remains to testify to its violence, and which is known locally as "The Guttit Haddje," it formed into two divisions, one of which took its direction towards the village of Duddingston, carrying away the gable of the most westerly cottage, and flooding the loch over the adjacent meadows.

Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield also mentions in his diary that in November 1780 "the great protuberance of Arthur Seat hill on the west side like the Giant's Causeway, came tumbling down several hundred cart loads, the effect of the storms and wet after frost."

The loch of Duddingston still forms part of the estate of Priestfield or Prestonfield, but for all practical purposes is available to the public. It certainly forms a most picturesque adjunct to Holyrood Park.

In 1814 the Æsculapian Club of Edinburgh approached the then Earl of Haddington (Charles, the eighth Earl) for permission to add to the amenity of Arthur Seat and the park generally. It was intended to place near the summit of the hill an iron garden seat, to sow a variety of Alpine plants and shrubs among the rocks at Samson's Ribs, and to extend the walks so as to render the hill more easy of access to the botanist and the mineralogist. They proposed to do this by subscription, and to employ an old pensioner from the parish of Duddingston to keep the paths in order. An influential committee was named, consisting of Dr Rutherford, Dr Duncan, Rev. John Thomson, James Millar, advocate: James Hope, W.S.; Professor Jamieson, and a few others, with Mr Archibald Constable, bookseller, as treasurer.

His lordship, notwithstanding he was assured that "without doing the smallest injury to any of his tenants, they would be able to render Arthur Seat one of the most interesting hills in Europe," curtly refused to have anything to do with the Æsculapians, chiefly on the ground that the intrusion of the public on the hill disturbed the sheep, and lessened the value of the grazing!

Ten years later Duddingston Loch narrowly escaped entire obliteration from the face of the landscape. In 1824, as we learn from the *Scots Magazine*, in consequence of the scarcity and high price of water supplied by the then Edinburgh Water Company, a meeting (at which Mr Downie, M.P., presided) was held to con-

sider the practicability of bringing into the city a supply by pipes from the loch. The general depth of the loch was stated to be about five or six feet, and its greatest depth little more than nine. It was thought it might be entirely drained for a moderate sum, and the waters of the springs which chiefly feed it might then be obtained at the point where they issue from the ground perfectly free of muddy sediment; and, being raised to the necessary height by a steam engine, might be conveyed to town. After some correspondence with Sir Robert Keith Dick, Bart., of Prestonfield, the proposal seems never to have taken any practical shape, although curiously enough the building of a curling club-house at the loch was deferred for more than a year on account of the negotiations following this absurd proposal. The octagonal curling-house was built in 1825 from a design by Playfair.*

At a later period the same Lord Haddington excited popular feeling in Edinburgh by opening afresh the quarries in Salisbury Crags, where formerly the city authorities were wont to get their "calsay stanes" for the paving of the streets. For several years this was continued notwithstanding the remonstrances of the people of Edinburgh and their representatives. The matter is referred to in the correspondence of Charles Kilpatrick Sharp, to whom Lady Gwydyr wrote stating that she had made a representation to the king on the subject, and that his majesty had ordered an inquiry. It certainly never was intended, as Sharp said in reply, that when James the Sixth made the Haddington family hereditary rangers of the park, that they should convert it into a quarry under the very windows of his palace.

This question about Holyrood Park, and the rights claimed by the Earls of Haddington therein, continued to agitate the public mind of Edinburgh for a long time, and the heat and feeling engendered were only allayed by the purchase of the rights of the family in the park from Thomas, the ninth Earl, in the year 1843 for the sum of £40,000.

Since that time the amenity of the park as a recreation ground for the public has been much improved. The approaches have been widened, and new lodges and gates erected. In 1856 the late Prince Consort took a great interest in the carrying out of these improvements. The old footpath, which for centuries had done service as a means of communication between Duddingston

* Colston's *Edinburgh and District Water Supply*, P. 51.

and the city, was at considerable cost converted into the present convenient carriage-way, which now passes the base of Samson's Ribs and skirts the margin of the loch. Of old the path appears to have been kept up by private subscription, for in 1809 we find the Duddingston Curling Club subscribing two guineas for its repair, and causing their officer to "call on every member for such sums as each may think proper to subscribe for this purpose." A keeper's lodge was built close to the village, and more recently commodious shelters have been erected by the Edinburgh Skating Club close to the loch for the accommodation of skaters when the loch is frozen over.

It is needless to say that this most picturesque locality has from the days of its pastor and painter, the Rev. John Thomson, been a favourite resort of artists, both professional and amateur. There are few artists of our Scottish Academy who have not frequently found on its banks ample material for study as rich and varied as may be found in the most distant Highland scenery. Even the great English artist, J. M. W. Turner, envied his friend, John Thomson, his proximity to so picturesque a sheet of water.

The sport for which the Loch of Duddingston is best known and most largely appreciated is, however, when its waters come under the spell of Jack Frost, and its surface, instead of being a safe and pleasant refuge for swans, ducks, snipe, and other waterfowl, becomes from the Hangman's Crag to the Manse a sheet of glittering ice.

Then is the time to see Duddingston Loch at its best. Then, when its surface is an animated mass of human beings, when the hoar frost is hanging from the trees, and Arthur Seat is clothed in a mantle of white, only the purple and brown of Samson's Ribs and the overhanging crags standing out all the bolder by contrast with their setting of snow, it is then we feel the romantic charm of the place, and understand how it has for generations been a favourite winter resort of the people of Edinburgh.

For curling and skating, not to speak of the lesser accomplishment of sliding, the loch has long had a fame peculiarly its own, for

> The skater there with motion nice,
> In semicirque and graceful wheel,
> Chalks out upon the dark blue ice
> His chart of voyage with his heel;

Now skimming underneath the boughs,
Amid the crowd now gliding lone,
Where down the rink the curler throws
With dexterous arm his booming stone.

The old and distinctively Scotch game of curling has been long identified with Duddingston ; and though of late years the various clubs of Edinburgh have provided themselves with ponds more reserved from the throng of visitors and more easily frozen, its historical association with the metropolitan authorities lends to it a peculiar interest.

In the society of Scotsmen it is universally admitted that there is no winter amusement which excites more lively interest than a well-contested match on the ice. Pennycuick, who flourished in the seventeeth century, calls it—"a manly Scottish exercise," and celebrates it as calculated—

"To clear the brain, stir up the native heat,
And give a gallant appetite for meat.

In the middle of last century curling was practised on Duddingston Loch, and a local club existed down to near the close of the century. None of its records have been preserved so far as we can learn, but it appears to have initiated its members with some formality—the word and grip and various mysteries of the craft being essential to true membership.

So long as the Nor' Loch existed in the valley on the north of the city it was a convenient resort of the Edinburgh curlers, but in the latter part of the century when the new town was being formed, the loch was drained, and curlers and skaters were alike compelled to go beyond the bounds of the city.

The "roaring game" was so popular and in such high repute at the latter part of last century that it was the custom of the Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh, so soon as the ice was bearing, to march in procession to the Nor' Loch, in their robes, preceded by a band of music playing the "Curler's March," and other appropriate airs. No doubt the worthy Bailies doffed their cumbrous civic cloaks and chains before engaging in the sport which, we are told, they enjoyed so heartily. When the Nor' Loch was drained, the curlers repaired to Canonmills, where a flourishing curling club was established. Towards the end of the century there seems to have been a falling off in the enthusiasm

and spirit of the members, and the club dwindled away till it had almost become extinct.

In 1795 the Edinburgh curlers migrated to Duddingston Loch, and reconstituted their club under the title of the "Duddingston Curling Society." Silver medals were struck off as badges of distinction. These medals represent, on the one side, a party of curlers at play, with Duddingston Church and Arthur's Seat in the background, with the motto—"Sic Scoti, alii non æque felices." The other side has the inscription—"Duddingston Curling Society, instituted 17th January 1795." The Magistrates gave to the reconstituted society their official patronage and support. With great pomp and circumstance, we are told, "they headed a curling procession every frosty day to the Loch, returning in the evening in similar order."*

After this auspicious start, the Duddingston Curling Society rapidly increased in numbers, no less than in the character and position of its members, and new spirit was infused into the game among the metropolitan circle of players. In 1803 the Duddingston Society drew up its celebrated code of rules "in order to prevent disputes and ensure harmony among the members." These were prepared by a committee with the greatest care, and as the outcome of the experience of the eighteenth century clubs, have been generally adopted since as the basis of their rules by most of the curling clubs throughout the country.

In the Rev. John Kerr's excellent history of curling we find some interesting particulars regarding what he characterises as "the most important club in Scotland." The following is the preamble to the rules and regulations of the society taken from the minute book:—"Curling hath long been a favourite amusement in many parts of Scotland for many ages past. It is an exercise very conducive to health, tends to promote society, and often unites its votaries who come from north, south, east, and west, in the strongest bonds of friendship."

"The inhabitants of the small parish of Duddingston," the minute goes on to say, "have long been famed for their attachment to the manly exercise of curling; this was greatly promoted by their having a large loch conveniently situated, and near to the metropolis. Some years ago a society was formed to keep up the spirit of this diversion, which seemed fast falling into decay. Of

* *Social Life in Scotland*—C. Rodgers.

late several gentlemen, who have already joined the society, and others who wished to do so, have expressed a desire that a few rules might be drawn out and laid before them to be inspected by the society, and if approved of by the majority of the members, would be adopted for regulating the future conduct of the society. A committee of their number was appointed for the purpose of drawing up the rules—viz., Messrs Thomas M'Kill, Michael Linning, David Scott (farmer, Northfield), and John Edgar, which they accordingly did, and were approven by all the members present, and is here inserted as follows :—

RESOLUTIONS AND REGULATIONS OF THE CURLING CLUB OF DUDDINGSTON.

1. Resolved that the sole object of this institution is the enjoyment of the game of curling, which, while it adds vigour to the body, contributes to vivacity of mind, and promotion of the social and generous feelings.

2. Resolved that peace and unanimity, the great ornaments of society, shall reign amongst them, and that virtue, without which no accomplishment is truly valuable, and no enjoyment really satisfactory, shall be the aim of all their actions.

3. Resolved that to be virtuous is to reverence God, religion, laws, and King ; and they hereby do declare their reverence for and attachment to the same.

The said curling club, in order to the permanent and regular existence of their institution have adopted the following regulations.

The "regulations" contain some salutary restrictions in regard to the use of intemperate language or the discussion of debatable subjects on the ice, as—"He who utters an oath of imprecation shall be fined in the sum of threepence ;" and "Any member introducing a political subject of conversation shall be fined in a penalty of sixpence, to be paid immediately." The society, besides being governed by a president, vice-president, and secretary, created quite a number of ornamental offices. They had a chaplain, the first to be chosen to this post being the worthy minister of the parish, the Rev. William Bennet, to whom they were indebted for a site on the glebe, close to the loch, for a curling house, which afterwards gave place in 1825 to the octagonal building now standing. The club's "officer" was an important personage, and had, besides his salary, a coat with suitable uniform provided for him. When fines and assessments were imposed the officer was sent to the respective dwellings of those who had not paid to collect the same, and he had to see to the safety both of curlers

and skaters; the skating club, which seems to have worked amicably with the curlers, having provided a ladder and ropes, which in case of accidents were under the officer's care. One of the members was called "Master of Stones," and his duty was to see that each member on entry lodged a pair of stones in the curling house, which in the event of the member's removal remained the property of the club. There was also a surgeon, a poet-laureate, a medalist, and a body of councillors, composed of gentlemen permanently residing in Edinburgh, whose duty it was to assist the president, and judge as to applications for admission to the club.

Applicants for admission had to do so in writing, and on being approved by the Council, their names were submitted to the general meeting. The entry-money was at first 3s, and if the entrant did not bring with him two curling stones, he had to pay down 5s in lieu thereof. Unlike the earlier Duddingston Club, the "society" dispensed with the word and grip of membership, and no ceremony of initiation was required; but in 1802 a motion was carried that a silver medal with proper insignia as a badge, "to distinguish the members from any other gentlemen," should be worn, and the entry-money was thereupon raised to one guinea, which covered the extra expense of the medal. This badge, under the penalty of one shilling, had to be worn on the ice, and also at the anniversary dinner. Some years afterwards the price of admission was raised to three guineas, and as there were frequent extra assessments, membership of the society ultimately came to be rather an expensive luxury. It consequently became quite an aristocratic and exclusive body, with less of a parochial than of a metropolitan or even national character.

In the course of its existence the Duddingston club embraced among its list of members the names of many of the leading Scotsmen of the day, a large proportion being of the legal and clerical profession. No society of the kind, notwithstanding the preponderance of wig and gown, ever numbered in its ranks such a company of peers, baronets, and representatives of the different learned professions, as the following list taken from the roll abundantly proves:—Marquis of Queensberry, Marquis of Abercorn, Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, Sir George Mackenzie of Coull, Sir Alex. Boswell of Auchinleck, Sir Alex. Muir Mackenzie, Sir George Clerk of Penicuik, Sir Patrick Walker of

Coats, Sir Chas. G. S. Menteath of Closeburn, Sir Wm. Gibson Craig of Riccarton, Sir Charles Gordon, Sir Charles Douglas, Sir John Hay, Sir William Hamilton, Sir John Dick, Sir Alexander Macdonald Lockhart, Sir Patrick Walker, Sir Robert Burnett, Sir John Gillespie, Lords Murray, Cockburn, Ivory, Colonsay, Moncreiff, Fullarton, Cunningham, Jeffrey, and Gillies; Major Hamilton Dundas of Duddingston [West Lothian], Colonel Macdonald of Powderhall, Lieutenant-Colonel White, Henry Ferguson of Craigdarroch, John Clerk Maxwell of Middlebie, Lauderdale Maitland of Eccles, Robert Dundas of Arniston, James Maidment, Cosmo Innes; Principal Baird, Professor Dunbar, Professor Ritchie; Revs. John Ramsay of Gladsmuir, John Thomson of Duddingston, Dick of Currie, James Muir of Beith, James Somerville of Currie, James Macfarlane, D.D., of Duddingston, G. S. Smith of Tolbooth, Wm. Proudfoot of Strathaven, &c., &c.

Three years after the passing of their code of rules, we find the Duddingston curlers moving quite away from the past, and originating "point" competitions, about which nothing is heard in the eighteenth century. This was done in 1809, on the ground that "as no sport was more deserving of encouragement, and as none seemed to offer a juster or more interesting competition than curling, it would be proper to the society to institute a prize medal, which should be played for once every winter." A gold medal with proper inscriptions and embellishments was accordingly secured, as Dr James Taylor mentions in his admirable work on curling, the winner was "to have his success announced in the newspapers, and to be allowed, if he chooses, to append a small badge thereto expressive of his having been victor for the year." The game of points so originated soon became highly popular, and was adopted by all the clubs of the country ere long as a test of skill in *drawing*, *striking*, and *invicking*. Sir Alexander Boswell, a member of the club, dedicated a poem to its honour, part of which runs as follows:—

Let lads dam the water in ilka how trough,
For cheerin' frost comes wi' December;
And curlers o' Scotland on Duddingston Loch
The glorious medal remember.

Chorus—Duddingston Loch!
Duddingston Loch!
Strain ilka nerve, shouther, back-bane and hough.

Let rogues and let fools rin to cards and to dice,
And gamblin', sit girnin' and gurlin';
But honest men ken that tho' slippr'y the ice,
Still fair play an' fun gang wi' curlin'.
Chorus—Duddingston Loch!

Then ring it round Reekie, our auld biggin' byke,
That the rinks are a' measured and soopit;
And out flee the lads, to draw, inwick, and strike,
Frae plough, counter, desk, bar and pu'pit.
Chorus—Duddingston Loch!

To the pen of Sir Alexander Boswell and James Miller, advocate, the club was indebted for several such curling songs which even yet are received with enthusiasm at the convivial meetings of the wielders of the broom. The Duddingston Club held their meetings at first at the Curlers' Hall, Duddingston, but they seem after 1815 to have been held in Edinburgh, for in a minute of 11th December 1816, written at M'Ewan's Tavern, the following entry occurs:—"A duet composed by Mr Boswell was sung to the meeting by that gentleman and received with unbounded applause." This was the famous duet between *Lochside and Dambreck*, characterised by Mr Kerr as "one of our classic curling pieces, the first verse of which, in the beat o' braid Scotch, is enough to justify the 'unbounded applause' with which the song was received by the Duddingston Society."

Let feckless chiels like cruckit weans
Gae blaw their thums wi' pechs and granes,
Or thaw their fushionless shank banes,
And hurdle at an ingle.

But lads o' smeddum croose and bauld,
Whase bluid can thole a nip o' cauld,
Your ice stanes in your grey plaids fauld,
And try on lochs a pingle.

The influence of the Duddingston Club was felt throughout the whole country, containing as it did many members who were not only eminent for scientific knowledge, wealth, respectability, and worth, but whose connection with various districts in the country gave them opportunities of introducing its rules and practices to local provincial clubs.

Before its establishment, curling in Scotland was conducted in the most primitive fashion, with rough uncouth stones taken from

the bed of the streams, of various sizes and shapes, sometimes with and sometimes without handles, and of so little value that they were generally left unprotected at the side of the ice when the game was over.

After the Duddingston curling house was built, the members began to be more fastidious as to having fine polished stones, and the game became one in which scientific skill counted for more than mere physical force. A new era in curling arose, and it is generally admitted the Duddingston Club was its precursor and initiator. "Duddingston," says Mr Kerr, "was at this time a centre of light, and to this remarkable club the transition of curling from the imperfect methods and ungainly implements of the past century to the better and more scientific style of the modern game was mainly due." The influence of its regulations, resolutions, and laws, "is manifest in all the societies which were formed between the time of its decrees and the foundation of the Grand Club in 1838, when a greater than Duddingston arose to guide the destinies of the national game. The Duddingston Club was in the end of the last and the earlier part of the present century a kind of Grand Club. Its name went far beyond its local habitation, and it numbered among its members distinguished curlers from all parts of Scotland. Besides, the old Duddingston curlers did more than exercise themselves on the ice during the day, and meet for dinner and drink at night—they turned attention to the past, and sought to collect all available information as to the origin and progress of the game, and under their auspices the first history of it was published." The work here referred to was the Rev. John Ramsay's *Account of the Game of Curling*, published in 1811, in which the rules of the society were given along with all that was known of the past. Ramsay's book, we are told, "acted for nearly twenty years as guide, philosopher, and friend to the curlers of Scotland." "As



the precursor of the Grand Club we may therefore," continues Mr Kerr, " well award the place of honour among last century clubs to the Duddingston Society."*

The Duddingston Curling Society continued to flourish till 1853, when the records of its transactions cease. For some years previous to this the crowded state of Duddingston Loch when frozen led to the members being privileged to play on the pond within the policy of Duddingston House. It was a beautiful spot, as the pond had an island in the centre called Crow Island, with a fine clump of trees, among whose branches the crows had established a pretty secure rookery. This pond has since been drained, and on its site there is now one of the putting greens of the golf course.† Curling, however, had become so popular, and clubs with artificial ponds had increased to such an extent in the metropolis, that the old time-honoured society, which had so often and so long sported under the shadow of Arthur Seat, and which at one time enjoyed a celebrity unexampled in the history of curling, gradually fell into decay. The very success of its efforts to extend the game, and make it more than ever national, became its ruin. The Royal Caledonian Club took up the duty which the society had so nobly tried to perform, and with the formation of other clubs in Edinburgh, affording greater facilities to the curling citizens, the loch at Duddingston was gradually deserted. The curling house still stands, its shelves filled with a goodly array of old-fashioned stones, which occasionally serve the purpose of curlers of Duddingston village.

The minute book of the old Duddingston Society is now in the custody of the Coates Curling Club, who may therefore be considered as the legitimate successors of its honours and traditions. But in the winter of 1894-95 a new club was formed under the name of the Duddingston Curling Club by residents of Duddingston and Portobello which promises to emulate the glories of the old society. A large artificial pond has been formed on the south side of the loch capable of accommodating five or six rinks, which was opened for play on Monday, the 28th January 1895, by a friendly match between the members of the club and residents of the parish not members, in which the club came off victors ; and on the following day a match, three rinks a-side, with the members of the Musselburgh Club, which resulted in a victory for the

* *History of Curling*, Rev. John Kerr, P. 141. †See Plan, P. 88.

latter. With a yearly increasing membership of enthusiastic curlers it is possible the palmy days of Duddingston may again be revived.

If Duddingston Loch has long been a rendezvous of curlers, it has undoubtedly been far more resorted to as a field for the exercise of skating. Who that has read the inimitable "Noctes Ambrosianæ" of Professor Wilson, can forget the laughable description given by the "Shepherd" of his experiences on Duddingston Loch, evidently in the winter of 1827, on some festival of the Skating Club? He says:—

"I was at Duddingston Loch on the great day; twa bands o' music kept cheering the shade of King Arthur on his seat, and gave a martial character to the festivities. It was then for the first time that I mounted my cloak and spurs. I had a young leddie, you may weel guess that, on ilka arm, and it was pleasant to feel the dear timorous creturs clinging and pressing on a body's sides, everytime their taes caught a bit crunkle on the ice, or an embedded chuckystane. I thocht that between the twa they wad never hae gien ower till they had pin'd me down on the braid o' my back! It was quite Polar. Then a' the ten thousand people (there could not have been fewer) were in perpetual motion. Faith and the thermometer made them do that, for it was some 50 below zero! I have been at mony a bonspiel, but I have never seen such a congregation on the ice before."

TICKLER—"Was the skating tolerable?"

SHEPHERD—"No, intolerable. Puir conceited whalps! Gin ye except Mr Torrie o' Princes Street, wha's a handsome fellow, and as good a skater as ever spread-eagled, the lave of them deserved drowning! There was Henry Cockburn, like a dominie, or a stickit minister, puttin' himself into a number of attitudes, every ane clumsier and mair awkward than the ither, and nae doubt flattering himself that he was the object of universal admiration. The haill loch was laughin' at him. The creture can skate nane! [Lord Cockburn was acknowledged to be an excellent skater, but "Maga" speaking through the 'Shepherd' took this method of depreciating his political opponent.] Jemmy Simpson is a feckless body on the ice, and canna keep his knees straught. I couldna look at him without wondering what induced him to write about Waterloo. The Skating Club is indeed on its last legs. [Mr Simpson, another prominent member, was an advocate, and author of 'A visit to the field of Waterloo.']

TICKLER—"Did you skate James?"

SHEPHERD—"That I did Timothy. But ken ye how? You will have seen how a' the newspapers praised the skatin' o' an offisher that they said lived in the Castle. Fools! it was me; nobody but me. Ane o' my twa leddies had a wig in her muff, geyan sair curled on the frontlet, and I put it on the hair of my head. I then drew in my mouth, puckered my cheeks,

made my een look fierce, hung my head on my left shouther, put my hat to the one side, and so, arms akimbo, off I went in a figure 8, garring the crowd part like clouds, and circumnavigatin' the frozen ocean in the space of about two minutes. The curlers quat their roaring play, and every tent cast forth its inmates, wi' a bap in the ae han' and a gill in the ither, to behold the offisher frae the Castle. The only fear I had was o' my long spurs, but they never got fankled, and I finished with doing the 47th proposition of Euclid with mathematical precision. Jemmy Simpson had half-an-hour before fallen over the Pons Asinorum!"

TICKLER—"No intrusion on private character?"

SHEPHERD—"Private character! If Mr James Simpson, or Mr Henry Cockburn, or myself, exhibit our figures and attitudes before 10,000 people, and cause all the horses in the adjacent pastures to half die of laughter, may I not mention the disaster? Were not their feats celebrated in all the newspapers? There it was said that they were the most elegant and graceful of violent men. What if *I* say in the next number of the Magazine [*Blackwood's*] that they had the appearance of the most pitiful prigs that ever exposed themselves as public performers? Besides, they are by far too old for such nonsense, they are both upwards of fifty and seem much older. At that time of life they should give up their skates to their boys!"



Annals of Portobello.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LANDS OF FIGGATE—THE FIRST INHABITANT—PORTOBELLO HOUSE—RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE TOWN.

PORTOBELLO can neither boast of an antiquity stretching back to the dim traditions of the Middle Ages, nor is its history surrounded with the romance of military achievement. Yet, short though its record be, it presents us with episodes and characteristics of interest to its present and future inhabitants.

In its early origin, its gradual growth and extension, its increasing popularity and importance as a hamlet, a village, and a burgh, until its final absorption by the city of Edinburgh, there is at all events in the private, social, and municipal life of the place, abundant material for a narrative full of varied experience.

The site upon which for the most part the town is built formed for centuries an outlying, valueless, and altogether neglected part of the Barony of Duddingston, in the parish of the same name.

Covered with furze, heath, and wild grass, the "Lands of Figgate," or the "Figgate Whins," presented a wilderness of sand-blown downs such as may still be seen skirting the sea shore between Prestonpans and Gosford, upon which it is said the Monks of Holyrood Abbey were wont in olden times to graze their cattle. The Figgate or Ficket Burn formed the western boundary of the property—Figgate being a corruption of the Saxon word for a common pasture for cattle, or cattle-gait. Previous to the time of King David of Scotland the whole district south-east of Edinburgh was known by the appellation of the Forest of Drumselch or Drumsheuch, and was a favourite hunting ground, game of all kinds, including—according to the old chronicler—"hartis, hyndis, toddis, and sic like manner of beistis," being found in abundance. It was in this forest that David I. narrowly escaped being gored by a white hart, and in gratitude for his deliverance, afterwards, in 1128, erected the Abbey of Holyrood.

Through this wild desolate region passed the king's highway from Edinburgh to the south or east, by way of Musselburgh—a passable enough road for travellers though unfenced, but by no means safe against highwaymen, especially after sunset.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century not a single dwelling —save perhaps a shepherd's shieling—was to be seen on the ground. It was as much a wilderness as if it had been in the heart of the Highlands, miles away from a city; for the traveller from Edinburgh, after clearing himself of the narrow and intricate thoroughfares of the suburbs by the Watergate and Abbeyhill, and passing on the left the then important village of Restalrig or "Lesterick," and on the right, at the intersection of the roads, the little hut anciently called "Jokis Lodge," passed no dwelling until he reached the smoky seaside hamlet of Joppa Salt Pans.



JOCK'S LODGE.

From the time of the Roman occupation of the Lothians, the roadway traversing the parish by way of the sea, had continued much the same, narrow and intricate; and in the "Fishwives' Causeway" we have still a remnant of the original road in its primitive simplicity. After crossing the Figgate Burn by a ford or bridge a few hundred yards above the present bridge, the road continued through the "Figgate Whins," forming what is now the main street of the burgh.

The lands of Figgate, like those of the rest of the Barony of Duddingston, were subject to the Lordship of the Abbots of Kelso from the early part of the twelfth century. They extended to about 75 acres, and the various proprietors, who from time to time owned them, held them as feudatories of the Abbey. From a charter, dated 20th May 1466, we learn some particulars relative to this small estate which are of interest as defining its boundaries and the tenure upon which it is held by the superior. We have been at some pains to verify the marches of the property,

and the map or plan of "the Village of Figget," part of which is reproduced at page 295, from a very scarce print made by John Anslie about the year 1785, curiously enough gives us these as defined in the charter before us, although the survey for the plan was made 300 years after the date of the charter.

In this document "Allan, by Divine permission, Abbot of the Monastery of Kelso," grants, sets, and in feu ferm lets to Cuthbert Knightson, burgess of Edinburgh, "all and whole that piece of our ground with all its pertinents lying in the Barony of Dodingston in the County of Edinburgh, as it lies in length and breadth on both sides of the King's Highway, between the Fegot myrehead and a certain heap of stones there deposited on the east side on the one part, and descending from the east by a certain ditch made long ago, and march stones placed therein as far as the marches of the town of Wester Dodingston westward on the other part, and thence from the Fegot as the water runs into the sea, and the foot of a 'lech' [ditch] on the north side, and so from the lech by the marches boundaries and divisions ascending to the foresaid Fegot myrehead and the foresaid heap of stones on the east side."

The "heap of stones" here referred to must have been somewhere near the south-east corner of the grounds of Mount Lodge, and may have possibly been one of these old monumental cairns commemorative of some important military or other event, which go by the name of Cat-stones or battle-stones. The "ditch made long ago" will be remembered by many as running behind the garden walls of East Brighton Crescent, and which, before the construction of the railway, extended to and emptied itself into the "Fegot water." It is now covered up, and in its place we have the footpath from St Mark's Place to the Railway Station, popularly known as the "Christian" Pathway, because it was made during the Provostship of Major Christian. The western boundary of the "lands of Fegot" was the burn, "as it runs into the sea," thence along the shore to where Wellington Street now is, or more strictly speaking, to Bellfield House, Victoria Terrace, from which the "lech" or ditch, now a built drain, can still be traced by the high boundary wall separating the gardens on the east side of Wellington Street from those of Bellfield, and which, near the High Street, forms the western boundary of Messrs Brown and Grieve's woodyard. On the south side of the

High Street the march is to be found between the west garden wall of Argyle House and the grounds of Mount Lodge, as far as the corner opposite to Argyle Place. The property, it will be seen, had a well defined boundary.

That the lands of Figgate were in those days considered of little or no value, is evident from the fact that the annual feu duty paid by Cuthbert Knightson for his 75 acres, was only "four marks of current Scottish money," which he bound himself to pay to the Abbey in half-yearly payments, "at our Courts of our said Barony of Wester Dodingston," "at the terms of Pentecost and Martinmas in equal portions." How long the property was held by him and his heirs we have no means of knowing, but at the Reformation the superiority of the lands, being taken from the Abbey, was assumed by the Crown. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the lands of Figgate passed into the hands of a family of the name of Lawson. We find from a retour, dated 12th June 1630, that John Lawson of Humbie was in that year served heir to his grandfather, James Lawson of Humbie, in "one and a half bovate of land in Wester Duddingston, and one-half of the lands of Figgate in the territory of Wester Duddingston."

Some years after, the Figgate became the property of the Logans of Burncastle, a retour, dated 6th April 1670, informing us that John Logan was served heir to his father, George Logan of Burncastle, in the "lands of Figgate in the territory of Easter Duddingston, and Barony of Duddingston, with half of the teinds, and other lands." The feu being then declared to be £4 Scots. In February 1691, George Logan, the son of the above named John Logan, was served heir in the property in succession to his father and grandfather.

Little or nothing is known as to the owners of the Figgate for the next fifty years. In 1747 it was purchased by Lord Milton, who held it as a part of his Brunstane estate. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the locality enjoyed anything but an enviable notoriety, for it was a rendezvous for smugglers, and a haunt of highwaymen and robbers ; shunned by all who had anything to lose, and uncheered by the smoke of a single dwelling, save perhaps from a solitary shepherd's hut. At an annual rent of 200 merks Scots, or something like £11 2s 2d, the whole 75 acres were let out to the farmers of Duddingston for grazing cattle, and until about thirty years ago there stood on the roadside close by the

smith's shop, belonging to Mr Alexander Scott of Bellfield, a little cottage or shieling, said to have been used by the herds tending the cattle among the whins and sand-downs. Being at the edge of the boundary line separating the lands of Figgate from the Barony of Duddingston, and from the circumstance that the boundary had probably at some time formed the subject of litigation, the cottage was known by the name of "Pike-a-Plea." *

The house from which Portobello took its name was further west, on the site now occupied by the Town Hall. The tradition concerning it is that it was built by a sailor belonging to the fleet, which, in 1739, bombarded and captured the important Spanish town of Puerto Bello, one of the chief fortified ports held by that proud nation on the Isthmus of Panama, and which had been a source of danger to British shipping, on account of the Spaniards claiming to search all English vessels found in Spanish waters. The attack made upon this stronghold on 22nd November 1739, by Admiral Vernon with six warships, proved thoroughly successful. First, the Iron Fort, with the warships sheltering in the harbour, was stormed and taken, followed by the capitulation of the town, and the Gloria Castle. Great quantities of ammunition and guns, not to speak of gold and other valuables, fell into the victor's hands, to be divided among the officers and crews. It was not till March of the following year that the news of this important event reached London—so slow was the motion of sailing ships in those days—but its arrival was greeted with a shout of rejoicing from one end of the kingdom to the other. Not only so, but it was the talk of every country in Europe, and it was generally admitted that by this achievement, Britain, which had been for years disputing with Spain the supremacy of the seas, had at last touched that great Power in her most sensitive part. Both Houses of Parliament voted addresses to the King, and the city of London did the same; while congratulations from all quarter poured in upon George II., and his Minister, Sir Robert Walpole.

* In the well-known verses written by Sir Walter Scott, in welcome of George IV. on his visit to Scotland in 1822, we have these lines—

"My Doctors look that ye agree,
Cure a' the town without a fee;
My Lawyers, dinna pike a plea—
Carle, now the King's come."

Medals—chiefly in bronze—were struck and circulated throughout the country; and so great appears to have been the demand for these that Grueber in the introduction to his *Guide to the English Medals in the King's Library* (British Museum) says that there are more than a hundred different specimens of the taking of Puerto-Bello, and the after attempt on Carthagena. Several of these we give in the accompanying illustrations. On the one side is generally to be found a portrait of Admiral Vernon, while on the obverse is given a representation of the bombardment, or a figure of Spain, humbled, and at the victor's feet begging for mercy.





The exact time when Porto Bello House was built is somewhat uncertain; but as the Spanish war did not close till 1744, it is not likely any but disabled seamen got their discharge from the service before that date, and there is no evidence that the house had been then erected.

Even at the time of the Rebellion, when the soldiers of Prince Charlie made use of the beach for drilling and reviews, there is no indication of a dwelling-house being in the locality—and it is not mentioned by any of the numerous writers who have given us narratives of the events of that stirring event.

Dr Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, who was then a lad at Edinburgh College, and who, along with his brother, had made his escape from Edinburgh on the eve of its capture by the Highlanders, gives us in his autobiography an account of the events then occurring, which throws some light on this point. The volunteers being disbanded, he and his brother were anxious to get home to Prestonpans where their father was Parish Minister. They got out of the Nether Port Gate at half-past eight "and immediately after passing through the crowd at the head of the Canongate, who were pressing both

ways to get out and in, we went through the Abbey, by St Ann's Yards, and the Duke's Walk to Jock's Lodge, meeting hardly a mortal the whole way. When we came down near the sands, I chose that way rather than the road through the whins, as there was no moonlight, and the whins were dark and solitary; but the sands are always lightsome when the sea is in ebb, which was then the case. We walked slowly, as I had been fatigued, and my brother was not strong, and having met no mortal but one man on horseback as we entered the sands, riding at a brisk trot, who hailed us, we arrived at the west end of Prestonpans, having shunned Musselburgh, by passing on the north side, without meeting, or being overtaken by anybody."



A few years after the Rebellion of 1745 Portobello house appears to have been built, and was inhabited by one George Hamilton, though whether he was the sailor connected with Admiral Vernon's fleet, who is said to have built it, cannot now be determined, but the probability is strongly in favour of this view; and assuming that he is the same individual, it would appear that on his retirement from public life, he took a fancy for the wilderness beside the sea, with its whins and broom; and in the solitary thatched cottage, settled down to spend the remainder of his days at the trade of shoemaking and harness making—in all probability cobbling for some of the master shoemakers of Edinburgh, and getting an occasional job in the repair of harness from passing post chaises and stage coaches, or from those taking horse exercise on the sands. He seems to have been far-seeing

enough to perceive that a half-way house at the Figgate Whins on the stage between Edinburgh and Musselburgh, might lead to a little business to his advantage. A stage chaise ran twice a day at that time between the two places "during the season," starting from Musselburgh at eight o'clock in the morning, and at four o'clock afternoon; "and from George Smith's shop at the head of Gray's Close, opposite the Fountain Well, Edinburgh, at ten o'clock forenoon and six o'clock afternoon." Then the monthly stage coach to and from London also passed this way (taking ten days on the journey); and beside this, not a few foot passengers frequented the road, among whom the fishwomen from Musselburgh, and the salters from Joppa and Pinkie Pans, with their baskets or creels loaded with fish and salt for the Edinburgh market, formed a conspicuous feature.*



PORTOBELLO HOUSE.

Hamilton appears to have converted his cottage into a resort for weary travellers, and to have provided such creature comforts for the refreshment of man and beast as every respectable half-way house in those days was expected to have; and beside this, he found it to his advantage to hold out inducements to sportsmen to frequent the place, especially those of the horse-racing fraternity.

Thus in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 8th October 1753, we find an advertisement to the following effect:—"On Monday, the 22nd October at twelve o'clock, there is to be run for, at PORTO-BELLO, two miles east from Edinburgh, in the midst of the FREEGATE WHINS, a SILVER CUP, at £3 value; the best of three heats by any horse, mare, or gelding, that never won a ten pound prize. The articles of the race to be seen at GEORGE

*Hugo Arnot tells us that in 1763 there were two stage coaches, with three horses, a coachman, and postillion each, which went to Leith every hour from eight in the morning till eight at night, "and consumed the hour upon the stage." There were no other stage coaches in Scotland except one, which set out once a month for London, and it was sixteen or eighteen days upon the journey.

HAMILTON'S at PORTO-BELLO, any time before the race. N.B.—Three horses belonging to different owners to start, or no race." This event came off at the time appointed "in the middle of the Freegate Whins." Three horses ran, and for those who are curious on sporting intelligence, we may mention that the silver cup was gained by "Mr Oman's Highland Lassie," in presence we may be sure of a large gathering of the sporting life of Edinburgh. In all probability the course was the highway, now the High Street of the burgh, which at that time would be well covered with turf. From other notices in the *Courant* of the period, we learn that the Whins were dreadfully infested by robbers, and resorted to by smugglers, and George Hamilton seems to have come under suspicion of having had such doubtful characters frequenting his house. His honest soul repudiated the insinuation with scorn, and in order to free himself from any such imputation he advertised in the same newspaper that he would give a "reward of three pounds to any one who would discover the author of the scandalous report which represented him as harbouring robbers in his house." This was in 1753.

In a foot-note where this is mentioned in the *Traditions of Edinburgh*, Dr Robert Chambers falls into the error of assuming "that there must have been various houses at the spot" at this time, evidently concluding that the "George Hamilton in Porto-Bello" is one of a number of householders, and that Porto-Bello was applied to the locality or village. The fact is, however, that the name was then, and for a long time after, only applied to the single house. In support of this we have another advertisement in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 24th June 1755, which throws a little more light on the subject. It is as follows:—"To be run for at PORTO-BELLO on Monday, the 7th day of June next, a NEW SADDLE of Thirty Shillings value, by any horse, mare, or gelding, given by GEORGE HAMILTON, SHOEMAKER, in PORTO-BELLO HOUSE. The horses to start at 11 o'clock forenoon, and three horses to start or no race. After which will be for Cart Horses, a GOOSE RACE, and a CAT IN THE BARREL."* It seems

*In this cruel sport a cat was enclosed in a cask suspended by a rope from a pole fixed at each end to the top of two others, and every one as he rode beneath on horseback strove to reach up and knock the end out of the cask, so as to let the cat fall among the crowd, the unfortunate victim being thereafter thrown up by the tail until the last of its nine lives had sped. Benedict,

perfectly clear from these quotations, that George Hamilton's cottage, or as he styles it, PORTO-BELLO HOUSE, was the only house in the locality of the Figgate Whins in 1755, and that while he ostensibly carried on the occupation of shoemaker, he kept an hostelry or public-house, and adopted the method of drawing customers to his house by offering prizes for horse races, "*in the midst of the Freegate Whins.*"

A wild, dreary, lonely spot it must have been, for it had for centuries enjoyed an unenviable notoriety, almost as much so as Sherwood Forest in the days of Robin Hood, or Hounslow Heath in the days of Jack Shepherd. Robbers had for ages skulked and hid among its recesses, and secreted among its sand hills their ill-gotten plunder. One such treasure has at least been unearthed. In digging for the foundation of a house in James Street, near to the beach, in 1852, a curious find of silver coins was made which must have been hid away there many centuries before. The coins, mostly English and Irish silver pennies of Edward I., and Scottish of Alexander III., are now in the Antiquarian Museum. It was indeed a fitting place for any desperate deed of outlawry, and Sir Walter Scott accordingly makes it, in the *Heart of Midlothian*, the scene of the escape of Effie Deans with her paramour after her pardon, a boat coming ashore and taking her off to a lugger, which lay in the offing at the mouth of the Figgate Burn. The place he describes in the novel "as a waste common, covered with furze, and unfrequented save by fishing boats, and now and then a smuggling lugger."

Many years before, viz., in 1642, it had been associated with a most daring act of kidnapping; the victim being no less a person that the Lord President of the Court of Session, and the hero of the merry ballad of "Christie's Will." The story, as told by Sir Daniel Wilson, is to the effect that the Earl of Traquair had a law suit pending in the Court to which Lord Durie's opposition was dreaded. In this dilemma he had recourse to Will Armstrong, a worthy descendant of the famous moss trooper executed by James V., who owed to the Earl's good services his escape from a halter.

in "Much Ado About Nothing" says, "Hang me in a bottle like a cat and shoot at me," words which confirm our explanation of this gruesome sport.

The Goose race was equally horrible. The poor bird was hung by the feet from a gallows, with its neck denuded of feathers, soaped and greased, while the riders tried to seize and pull off its head as they galloped past.

Will promptly volunteered to kidnap the President on learning that he stood in his patron's way, and watching his opportunity when Lord Durie was riding out, he entered into conversation with him, and so decoyed him to the Figgate Whins, when he suddenly pulled him from his horse, and muffling him in his trooper's cloak, rode off with the luckless judge trussed up behind him. Lord Durie was secured in the dungeon of an old castle in Annandale called the Tower of Graeme, and his horse being found on the beach, it was concluded he had thrown his rider into the sea. His friends went into mourning, his successor was appointed, the Earl won his plea, and Will was directed to set his captive at liberty. The old judge was accordingly seized in his dark dungeon muffled once more in the cloak, and conveyed with such dexterity to the scene of his capture, that he long entertained the belief he had been spirited away by witches. The joy of his friends was probably surpassed by the blank amazement of his successor in the Presidential chair, when he appeared to claim his old office and honours. In those disorderly days the kidnapping of a judge was laughed at, and looked upon as quite a fair *ruse de guerre*.

In January 1754 the *Scots Magazine* records that one Alexander Henderson, master of a fishing boat, on his way from Musselburgh to Leith, was attacked by footpads at the Figgate Whins, who robbed him of ten guineas that were sewn in the waistband of his breeches, 12s 6d that he had in his pocket, cut him over the head with a broad sword, stabbed him in the breast and left him for dead. His groans were heard by two persons coming that way, who carried him to Leith more dead than alive.

The knowledge that the locality was associated with scenes of kidnapping, smuggling, and robbery, must have operated powerfully against the possibility of the Figgate Whins ever being thought a suitable or likely place for a town ; and in the middle of last century the idea of the site on which Portobello is now built ever being inhabited was treated as a historical romance, good enough for a joke or satirical epigram.

About the time when "George Hamilton, shoemaker in Portobello House," was offering his prizes of silver cups, and saddles, and drawing down from the city the sporting fraternity to witness his horse races, and *Cat in the Barrel*, a somewhat celebrated satirist flourished in Edinburgh. James Wilson—or, as he was better known by his pseudonym, "Claudero"—was a poet and a

writer of some ability, who, if somewhat coarse at times, had by his wit the merit of making his readers laugh, while he exposed unmercifully the objects of his ridicule. He composed some remarkable poems, which appeared in 1766 under the title of *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, by Claudero, son of Nimrod the Mighty Hunter.* The most noted of these are—"The Echo of the Royal Porch of the Palace of Holyrood House, which fell under military execution, anno 1753;" "The last speech and dying words of the cross, which was hanged, drawn, and quartered on Monday, the 5th of March 1756, for the horrid crime of being an incumbrance to the street;" "A sermon on the condemnation of the Netherbow," etc. "Claudero," says Chambers, "seems to have been the only man of his time who remonstrated against the destruction of the venerable edifices then removed from the streets which they ornamented, to the disappointment and indignation of all future antiquaries." There is much wit in his sermon upon the destruction of the Netherbow, but it is more particularly interesting to us now for the sly reference to the doubtful character of Portobello House as a rendezvous of smugglers, and the predictions as to the remarkable extension of the city, which Claudero could have had little serious expectation would be so soon fulfilled. Imagination failed to picture anything more improbable. "What was too hard," he says, "for the great ones of the earth, yea, even Queens to effect is now accomplished. No patriot Duke opposeth the scheme, as did the great Argyle in the grand senate of our nation; therefore the project shall go into execution, and down shall Edina's lofty porches be hurled with a vengeance. Streets shall be extended to the east, regular and beautiful as far as the Figgate Whins; and Portobello [house] shall be a lodge for the captors of tea and brandy." Portobello was not, however, destined to figure as a commercial emporium, or a seaport of any consequence; and though it has been long free from the odium of smuggling, it has not as yet attained to the distinction of being a centre for the officers of Excise!

About the year 1763 Mr William Jameson—the son of a celebrated Edinburgh builder, with a shrewd eye to the future possibilities of this barren uncultivated spot, began to look after it chiefly as a likely place for starting the manufacture of bricks. The estate of Figgate had been purchased a few years previous from Lord Milton by Lord Mure, one of the Barons of Exchequer,

the whole seventy-five acres being got for £1500! Mr Jameson took off in feu about forty acres from the Baron at the rate of from £2 2s to £3 per acre per annum, and shortly afterwards (about 1765) found that underlying the deep drift of sand, which for the most part composed the soil of his property, there was a deep bed of excellent clay, most suitable for brick making. At the time referred to he was a young man about twenty-seven years of age, and had been associated with his father for nine or ten years in a number of important works then going on in connection with the extension and improvement of the city. The most important of these was the erection, in 1753, of the Royal Exchange, for which his father—Patrick Jameson—had the contract. At the laying of the foundation stone of this edifice by the then Lord Provost, George Drummond, there was a great Masonic demonstration, and young Jameson being anxious to take part in it, although under the prescribed age of admission to the Masonic fraternity, was out of respect to his father, admitted an apprentice in the Lodge of Edinburgh, St Mary's Chapel, and took part in the procession.

In the extensive operations connected with the building of the new town, Patrick and William Jameson had a prominent part. Large quantities of brick were required, not only to meet the home but the foreign demand, and William set himself energetically to develop the resources of the lands of Figgate, hitherto so unproductive.

According to the statement of Hugo Arnot, the historian of Edinburgh, the "making of bricks in the vicinity of the city had begun about the year 1764 on a small scale, the number made annually not then exceeding 400,000." But it went on increasing rapidly until 1779, the year in which the history was published, when he says there were three brickfields in the neighbourhood, "the principal being at Brickfield or Portobello." These works at the latter date were producing no less than three millions of bricks annually, which were not only used by the builders in Edinburgh, but were exported to Norway, the West Indies, Gibraltar, and North America.

Excavations were first made by William Jameson for clay where Pipe Street and Bridge Street are now situated, and afterwards he opened a pit in a field called Wallace Park, now forming the grounds of Mount Lodge, and had an extensive work in that locality.

These works naturally led to the building of workmen's houses in the neighbourhood of the works, and so we find that the older parts of the town are to be seen near to Pipe Street, and on the High Street in the neighbourhood of the Blue Bell Inn. The houses, many of which still stand in these localities, were certainly of the commonest description, generally built of brick and roofed with tiles.

The bed of clay at Portobello, discovered by Jameson, is usually denominated as "brick clay." It receives this appellation because it is very suitable for the purpose of making bricks, in contradistinction to the boulder clay, which is itself a strong clay, but greatly intermixed with stones, many of which are of very large size, as may be seen from some lying on the beach towards Leith, which have apparently come from a distance, as they present the polish and groovings caused by much friction, and are generally pointed out as characteristic of the glacial period. The brick clay itself is not entirely free from stones. They are, however, comparatively few in number, and are generally of small size, but being often very hard they give no little annoyance in the working of brick-making machinery. The brick clay at Portobello extends from Joppa on the one hand to Craigentinny Meadows on the other, and from the shore of the Firth of Forth a considerable distance towards Arthur Seat. The deposit of brick clay has most likely been formed in the course of ages by the sediment brought down by the streams from the west, lodging in the locality. Hugh Miller, during the latter years of his life, when he resided in Portobello, carefully surveyed the clay excavations. In one of his published lectures he has given a graphic picture of the mode in which he thinks the deposit of brick clay at Portobello was formed, from which we give a few extracts.

"What are known as the Portobello brick clays occupy a considerable tract of comparatively level country, which intervenes between the eastern slopes of the Arthur Seat group of hills and the sea. The covering of rich vegetable mould which forms the upper stratum of the tract—so valuable to the agriculturist, that it still lets for about £6 per acre—precludes any exact survey of their limits; but we know from occasional excavations in the tract, and at least one natural section, that they extend over an area of at least a square mile. A well, sunk a few years ago at Abercorn Place, one hundred and ten yards on the upper or Edinburgh side of the first milestone from Portobello, passed through a stratum of the brick clays, six feet in thickness; and several excavations made in the immediate neigh-

bourhood, on the farm of Mr Scott of Northfield, laid open the continuous bed which they form at various points fully a mile distant from the sea, where they averaged in thickness from five to seven feet. In all probability, judging from the general level, and their gradual thinning out, they terminate in this direction about the middle of the field which extends to the house of Willow Bank; while more to the south they appear about sixty yards below the mill of Wester Duddingston, in the section formed by the Figgate Burn, whence they stretch eastwards to near Joppa Quarry. They acquire their greatest elevation at Stuart Street and its neighbourhood [at Piershill] where they rise about eighty feet over the high water line; and attain to their greatest known depth in the town of Portobello at the paper works [Bridge Street], where at one point, immediately beside the burn, they were perforated several years ago in sinking a well to the depth of not less than 100 feet. Their extent along the shore to the west has not been definitely traced, but from their eastern extremity near Joppa, to where they terminate beyond the brick works of Mr Ingram [Westbank], cannot greatly exceed a mile. The boulder clay appears all around the edges of the area which they occupy, and forms, I cannot doubt, the basin in which they rest. It appears in a characteristic section a little above Duddingston Mill, charged with its grooved and polished boulders; it was cut through to a considerable depth by the excavations for the North British Railway, in the vicinity of Stuart Street and Abercorn Place, and there found underlying the brick clays; and it appears along the shore, accompanied by some of its most striking phenomena, both to the east and west of Portobello, a little beyond the limits of the basin. In short the Portobello brick clays may be regarded as occupying a boulder clay basin or valley about a mile in length and breadth, not reckoning on their unknown portion, which seems to extend outwards under the sea; and, thinning out all around the edges of the hollow, they attain, where deepest in the lower edges of the Figgate Burn, a thickness of at least a hundred feet.

Hugh Miller found in the Abercorn Works a bed of shells of the *Scrobicularia piperata*, which is chiefly to be found at the mouths of rivers or inlets, not remote from fresh water; also at a lower stratum scattered specimens of the common periwinkle *(Littorina littorea)* and a few much wasted valves of the crimson tellina *(Tellina solidula)*. Beside these the trunks of trees—the oak, the Scotch fir, the birch, hawthorn, and alder—along with reeds and water-flags. The place held by the brick clays of the entire Portobello deposit, in relation to the Arthur Seat group of hills, and their probable derivation from the boulder clays of the district, is not unworthy of being noted. Continuing, Hugh Miller says:—

"The entire deposit furnishes us with two little bits of picture. We are first presented with a scene of islands—the hills which overlook the Scottish Metropolis, or on which it is built—half sunk in a glacial sea. A powerful current from the west, occasionally charged with icebergs, sweeps past them, turbid with the washings of the raw, recently-formed boulder clays of the great flat valley which stretches between the Firth of Forth and the Clyde; and in the sheltered tract of sea to the east of the islets, amid slowly revolving eddies, the sediment is cast slowly down, and layer after layer, the brick clays are formed along the bottom. And then, in long posterior ages, after the land has risen—all save its last formed terrace – and the subartic rigour of its climate has softened, we mark a long withdrawing estuary running along what is now the valley of the Figgate Burn. It is skirted by the aboriginal trees of the country—oak, and birch, and alder, and the Scotch fir; and, save where the sluggish stream creeps through the midst, we see it thickly occupied by miniature forests of reeds and rushes, amid the intricacies of whose roots the mud-loving scrobicularia breed by thousands." *

From these pictures of antediluvian times we return to a consideration of the application which human ingenuity has made of the materials so bountifully supplied by nature. To this splendid bed of clay Portobello is largely indebted for any manufacturing and commercial prosperity it has enjoyed. It was certainly the one industry—the converting of this clay into bricks, tiles, &c., which attracted to the Figgate Whins a gradually increasing population of workmen, and led to the starting of other industries, and at length to the formation of a community composed of all ranks and classes, from the Peer of the Realm to the commonest hodman.

William Jameson's works proved to be thoroughly successful. The demand for bricks was large, and being near to Edinburgh, where extensive building was then going on, these could be furnished by him at the lowest prices. After a few years the supply of clay in the neighbourhood of Pipe Street, though far from being exhausted, ceased to be wrought to the same extent. The Pipe Street work was then leased by Jameson to his clerk, Mr Morton, and the brickwork at Mount Lodge was opened. The roadway to the latter, now Windsor Place, was originally named Nicholson Street, after Mr Jameson's wife, who was a daughter of Sir William Nicholson of Tillicoultry and Jarvieswood. In all likelihood its name was changed to "Windsor Place" in commemoration of the visit of George IV. to Portobello in 1822,

* See Hugh Miller's works, *The Brick Clays of Portobello.*


PORTOBELLO, or
The Village of Figget.
As in 1783.
From a plan by J. Ainslie.
Wheatfield
Telfer's Mains
Road from Edinburgh to London
Mr Miller of Craigentinny's Property
Mellis's park
Beginning of the pavement
FISH-WIVES CAUSWAY
Gate into Lands of Northfield
Bridge
Mills
Poterie
Pottery
The Causeway Supposed to have gone here formerly
Adam's Lawn
Road in Dispute
Northfield
Willows
Figget Burn
The EARLE OF ABERCORN'S PROPERTY
Rosefield
Mr Stewarts property formerly Mr Skirving's
Porto Bello
Mr Hills property
Mr Jamieson's Property
Brick work
March betwixt Lord Abercorn & Mr Jamieson
Pike a Rea
Common Loan
Fire Engine
W
E
Mr Hills property
VILLAGE of FIGGET

as being more pleasing to the aristocratic families who resided in it then.

In 1767 Mr Jameson built for himself what is described as a "handsome dwelling house" which he called Rosefield, still standing in Adelphi Place. At that time it faced the main road, or High Street, had a garden or shrubbery in front, with a carriage way to the street, and an extensive and beautiful park in the rear, through which flowed the pure waters of the Figgate. This he made his summer residence, his town house at that time being in Turk's Close; but in the latter part of his life he resided entirely at Portobello.

With a view to utilize the ground occupied by his first brickwork on the opposite side of the road for feuing purposes, he set about filling up the excavations there made, and a story is told of him that having got a large contract to construct the drains of the new town of Edinburgh, he determined to use the rubbish for this purpose. By the agreement into which he entered with the Town Council, he was to have the privilege of carting all the superfluous rubbish to Portobello without paying the usual toll-bar dues at Jock's Lodge. The tollkeeper, perhaps considering that the number of cart loads exceeded all reasonable bounds, one day closed his gate, and refused to allow the carts to pass without the usual toll. This was reported to Mr Jameson, "Weel, weel," said he to the carters, "just coup your carts at the toll-bar." This was accordingly done, and caused so much annoyance to the tollkeeper and the public that no further interruption was made—the tollkeeper being only too glad to get rid of the nuisance! In this way Pipe Street was formed, and afterwards feued off to builders. It got its name from the fact that the water supply for the use of the inhabitants was brought thither from the burn where it was pure and uncontaminated above Mr Jameson's house, in several large pipes, which being carried underneath the High Street, discharged themselves into a large trough at the east end of the cross lane between Pipe Street and Bridge Street, or as it was then called "Tobago Street." The greater part of the buildings erected in this neighbourhood were chiefly for the workmen connected with the brickworks; but after the erection of Mr Jameson's "handsome dwelling house" it seems to have occurred to some of the Edinburgh people that the locality was not without its attractions as a summer resort for their families.

The wild uncultivated sand downs, with their covering of golden furze and broom, began to be enclosed. Little farms, such as Rabbit Ha', Middlefield, and Portobello Park, afterwards Park House, with their one-storied, red-tiled offices, sprang up at some distance from each other, surrounded with their little patches of grain and dairy pasture; and the soil, if somewhat light, was found to be productive. The air of the place was fine, and if not so pleasant in spring during the prevalence of the east wind, it was bracing and wholesome during at least nine months of the year. Above all, the beautiful level sands, free from rocks, gravel, or shingle, and with no dangerous sandbanks or shoals, were recognised as most suitable for sea bathing.

We accordingly find that between the years 1770 and 1780 a few superior residences were erected on the lands of Figgate, being sub-feued from Mr Jameson. These, in some cases, included several acres as parks or pleasure grounds, which were enclosed with high substantial walls, built for the most part of boulder stones, which were then plentiful all round, and topped with a few courses of brick. A few of these curiously built three-storied walls may still be seen amid the closely compacted modern buildings which now hem them round, as in Ramsay Lane, Rosefield Avenue, and at the top of Pipe Street. In all probability the lower or boulder-stone portion of these walls would be all that was at first required to fence the properties, the courses of brick being afterwards added to give more security or seclusion. Among these original villas (which for the most part were built of brick) may be mentioned Ramsay Lodge, Mount Charles, Shrub Mount, Jessfield, and the Tower, surrounding which were large orchards of fruit trees where, the *Old Statistical Account* tells us, "the apple, pear, plum, and apricot flourished in great profusion."

Ramsay Lodge took its name from General Ramsay L'Amy, a West Indian veteran, who after having served in Jamaica for many years, came to reside there. It occupied the centre of a spacious park and garden. Originally its principal entrance was by a large iron gateway in Ramsay Lane, close behind the present Municipal Buildings. Long afterwards, when each side of the lane near the High Street got to be filled with mean cottages and other buildings, a new entrance was opened from Bath Street about 1831, having an avenue of trees, and a porter's lodge. At

the beginning of the century Ramsay Lodge belonged to Mr Spottiswood, from whom it passed in 1830 into the hands of Mr James L'Amy, Sheriff of Forfar, until about 1848, when it became the property of the late Mr Robert Mercer, W.S., since whose death in 1870 the garden and park have been feued and built upon, and the old brick house has fallen sadly into decay.

A strange story is told of General Ramsay L'Amy, its first owner, to the effect that when in Jamaica he was engaged to be married to a young lady residing there. During an epidemic then raging in the island, the young lady having taken yellow fever, he was horrified on calling for her one day to be told she was dead, and had been laid out in an upper room for burial. Desiring to be allowed to see her once more, he was strongly dissuaded from it in case of infection. He pressed the matter however, and was allowed to go upstairs, taking a small flask of brandy with him. The young lady, now quite black, had all the appearance of death, but on touching her cheek the General thought he discovered signs of life. He moistened her lips with the liquor. She made a motion of returning consciousness, opened her eyes, and finally sat up. Strange though it may seem, she speedily recovered, and was shortly afterwards married to the General, and came home to spend the evening of her days with him at Ramsay Lodge about the year 1780.

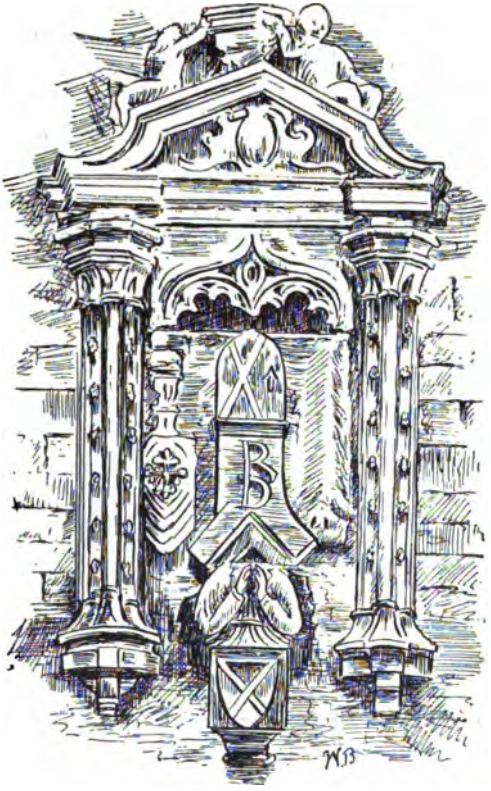
Mount Charles, a quaint picturesque building, also of brick, standing within its own grounds, was built by Mr John Dickson, W.S., of Robbiewhat, Dumfriesshire. The greater part of the original building was removed some thirty-six years ago to make room for the present elegant mansion, and was long occupied by his son, Mr David J. Dickson, wood merchant in Fisherrow. He was Provost of the town from 1840 to 1843.



THE TOWER.

Shrub Mount, many years after known as the

residence of the lamented Hugh Miller, and the place where he ended his life, was probably built by Mr James Cunningham, W.S.; it was long occupied by Mr Wm. Creelman, one of the first lessees of the Abercorn Brickworks. When it was built, about 1787, it had extensive grounds attached, including the whole area now occupied by Tower Street, and the houses on each side of it down to the sea. Within this area there was a hill of considerable height called the Bleaklaw, the highest point in the landscape, from which an extensive view of the surrounding country could be had. In Hugh Miller's time the top of this hill was adorned with a fine clump of trees, but since the grounds have been cut up for building purposes, much of the hill has disappeared, as well as the trees. It was situated immediately to the rear of the publishing premises of Messrs Thos. Adams & Sons.



SOME OLD CARVINGS AT THE TOWER.

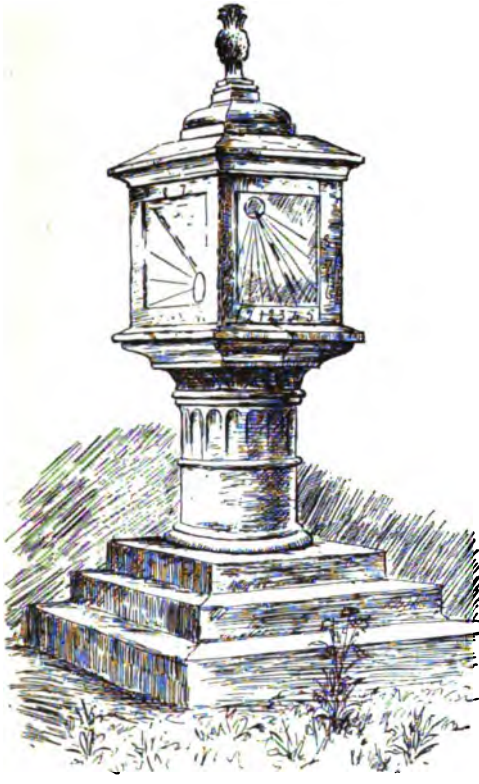
But perhaps the most extraordinary building of its day was the "Tower," erected in 1785, some say by Mr Jameson, some by Mr Cunningham, as a summer house on the shore, the probability being that it was built by Mr Jameson for Mr Cunningham. In its erection he displayed the most eccentric taste, the materials and the style adopted being original and fantastic. It was built partly of brick, octagonal in form, four stories high, and a mixture of every conceivable style of architecture. Stone and brick were

used indiscriminately for ornament, but most of the mullions, cornices, and other ornaments were old carved stones, some of which, it is said, belonged to the old Cross of Edinburgh, some to the Cathedral of St Andrews, and some, probably added afterwards, from the old College of Edinburgh, which in 1789 was removed to make room for the present University buildings.

A few years afterwards Mr Cunningham got into monetary difficulties, and in 1806 the property was sequestrated and sold. The Tower was advertised for sale in the *Edinburgh Courant* of 11th April 1807 in the following terms:—"To be sold by private bargain, the Tower at Portobello, with the adjacent buildings. The Tower is situated on the shore at Portobello, and commands one of the finest views in the kingdom, and the sea beach is well known to be the finest in Scotland for cold bathing. About 100 feet or more of ground on the west can be taken in from the sand at a very small expense, which would be exactly on a line with the other grounds *lately taken from the sea*, and the walls of the adjacent buildings are sufficiently strong to admit of other two stories being added, which might be made to communicate with the Tower and form two elegant and commodious dwelling houses, each having a proportion of the Tower." . . . "The premises will be shown by Mr Turnbull at the Tower." We are not aware that it was purchased by anyone at this time; we are rather inclined to think it was not. A daughter of Mr Turnbull was subsequently married to Mr Jameson's son, and through her the Tower became the property of the Jamesons.

At the beginning of the century it was let to summer visitors, but after a time was allowed to fall into neglect, and ultimately it had become a complete ruin. In this condition it stood for many years—its roof fallen in, its windows broken, its joists and rafters rotten and lying in a broken heap on the ground floor, with its circular stone stair broken here and there, and impassable except to venturesome boys in search of jackdaws' nests—during which time it seems to have been in the hands of Jameson's heirs, whose property it was in 1834. Thus it stood till about 1864, when Mr Hugh Paton, the publisher of *Kay's Edinburgh Portraits*, having purchased the property, built the present commodious mansion adjoining it, and completely restored the Tower to its original condition, making it a part of his residence.

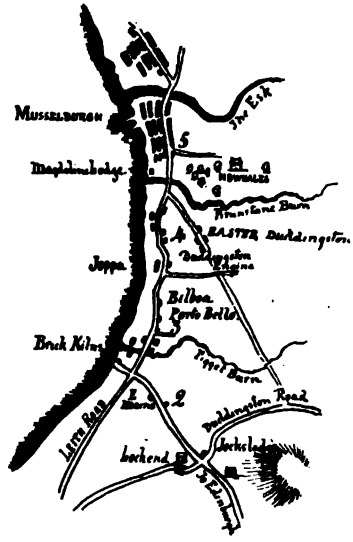
The Tower is the scene of rather a weird story, written some sixty years ago, called the "Wizard of the Tower." Some of its old carved stones are very curious, we give by way of illustration



an interesting old sundial which originally stood at the west gateway, fully ten feet high; and a heterogeneous group of carvings in front of the building, where may be seen the figure of an angel minus the head, and several monograms. One stone bears the date 1674. The Tower is now the property of Councillor Wm. Gray.

Jessfield, Rosefield Cottage, and Williamfield, on the south side of the High Street, were all built towards the end of the century on ground sub-feued from Jameson's extensive park adjoining his own house; Rosefield Avenue being formed as a convenient access to these houses, or more probably before their erection, for strangely enough in Taylor & Skinner's Survey Map, published in 1776, Rosefield Avenue is the only street indicated in the locality. Though these detached dwellings, with smaller ones here and there, were dotted over the otherwise desolate scene, the place up to this time was practically only a scattered collection of dirty workmen's cottages; clay holes and brick kilns being the principal features of the landscape in the neighbourhood of the burn. Jameson's property lay all to the east of the burn, but the value of the clay-bed he had discovered speedily stimulated the proprietors of the estates west of that boundary to open up their ground also.

Mr Miller of Craigentinny accordingly offered facilities for brick-making on his property, on the north side of the highway, while the Marquis of Abercorn gave a lease of a large field (called "Adam's Laws") on the south side to a Mr Hamilton, by whom it was opened as the Abercorn Brick and Tile Work. This extensive work, in the hands of the Creelmans, the Livingstones, and of late of Messrs Thornton & Co., has since been successfully carried on for over a hundred years. It is now in the hands of Messrs Turners, Limited. Perhaps the earliest brick maker on the Craigentinny Estate was Anthony Hillcoat, a bricklayer from Newcastle. He got a lease of Westbank where he commenced to make bricks with what are called "clamp kilns," *i.e.*, the bricks after being dried by exposure to the weather are set with alternate layers of small coals, and burnt until they are quite hard. He built the older part of Westbank House (since demolished) as his residence.



The Coast Line as in 1776. From Taylor and Skinner's Survey Map of the Roads of North Britain.

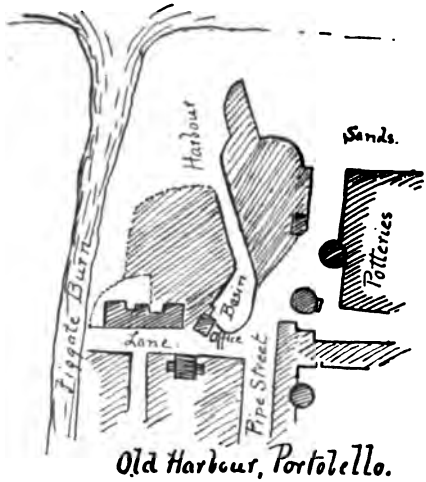
Adjoining his works two brothers had acquired a lease of ninety-nine years of Rosebank, where they started a red paint or "keel" work, and a brick work. An atmosphere of suspicion seems to have hung for long over these men among the older inhabitants of the place, which has been even handed down to our day, some strange stories being whispered of the conduct of the brothers, Edward and Alexander Colston, "the bloody Neds." In 1781 the Colstons erected a house adjoining Westbank on the east side of the "Private Lane," which their mother kept as an inn. As the story goes, though we will not vouch for its accuracy, this seems to have been an infamous nest of desperadoes. For though

the brothers professed to make bricks and paint, it was commonly believed that their real occupation was that of highway robbers, and suspicion rested pretty strongly upon them for various daring acts of robbery, and even murder. At all events, Sandy Colston and "Bloody Ned" were for long a terror to the neighbourhood. Whether the designation "bloody" was attached to Ned from a suspicion of his being implicated in foul play, or from the fact of his hands and clothes being discoloured with the red paint, we cannot say, but the locality of their "works" bore anything but a favourable reputation, and few persons of respectability would risk passing the vicinity of the Portobello "keelies" after nightfall without an escort. One old man, since dead, used to tell that when he was a lad running about the hillocks, with which the neighbourhood then abounded, jumping down from the top of these one day he was horrified to strike upon the body of a man, buried only a little beneath the surface of the sand. It was supposed to have been, rightly or wrongly, that of some unfortunate traveller who had fallen a victim to "Bloody Ned." Notwithstanding all the suspicion that hung about his character and conduct, Ned Colston lived to be an old man, and his son, who was a capital singer, became afterwards the precentor in the Chapel of Ease, built in 1809.

Other works beside those for the manufacture of bricks and tiles now sprung up, for the brick clay was found capable of being manipulated with finer imported clays in the construction of brown pottery and whitestone ware. About the year 1786 two potteries for the manufacture of earthenware and porcelain were built, one by William Jameson and the other by Anthony Hillcote, near to the mouth of the burn at the foot of Pipe Street and Tobago Street. In the former, now the property of Messrs Alex. Gray & Sons, a firm of the name of Scott Brothers started an extensive work for the manufacture of earthenware. Their dinner and dessert services were said to be of very superior workmanship, being ornamented with yellow designs, leaves, and even grotesque figures painted on a chocolate ground. They also made mantelpiece ornaments—figures of fishwomen, clockstands, candlesticks, &c. This ware is, we believe, still highly prized by connoisseurs, chiefly no doubt on account of its scarcity, and brings a high price in the market. Some specimens are to be found in the collection of Lord Mansfield, and some at Dalkeith Palace in

the possession of the Duke of Buccleuch. It did not, however, prove a financial success, and after six or seven years its manufacture was discontinued. In 1795 the work was taken up by Messrs Cockson & Jardine for at least some fifteen years, and was afterwards continued by Mr Yule and then by Mr Samuel Rathbone.

To meet the requirements of the growing trade of the place, and with an enterprise truly commendable, betokening his entire confidence in its ultimate success, Mr Jameson, about the year 1787-88, projected the erection of a harbour at the mouth of the Figgate Burn. The import of coals and whiteware clay from Cornwall for the potteries, and other commodities, was now considerable, while the export of bricks, tiles, etc., was also increasing, so that the prospects of a harbour being needful and likely to pay the outlay necessary for its completion were not unreasonable. Hitherto sloops, brigs, and other small craft, bringing or taking away goods, had to be beached in order to receive or discharge their cargoes, which on an unprotected shore was not always possible or safe. Accordingly on the spot made memorable by the landing of the English fleet in 1560, with their "great artailzerie and ordinance" for the seige of Leith, Mr Jameson resolved to erect a harbour. The contractor employed by him was Mr Alexander Robertson, the lessee of Joppa Quarry, who undertook to cart to the harbour a thousand loads of boulder stones, in addition to the large squared stones necessary for facing the pier and harbour walls, but the work appears to have been carried on under his own immediate supervision. According to a statement by Dr D. M. Moir in his *Roman Antiquities of Inveresk*, the boulder stones for the harbour were taken from the old Roman Road between Magdalene Bridge and Joppa. The pier, with a



Old Harbour, Portobello.

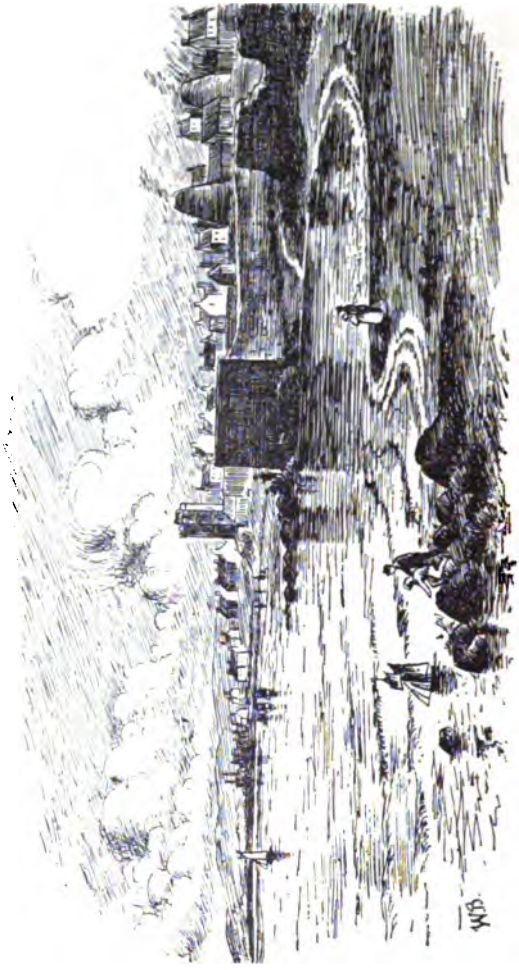
rough kind of breakwater in front of it, on the east side of the harbour, was carried out in a northerly direction, directly from the foot of Pipe Street. The entrance to the harbour was narrow and the basin small, and certainly it would not accommodate more than three or four small vessels at a time. On the east was the "harbour green," which did duty as a dock-yard. On the west side the sea wall took a turn from facing the north inwards towards the burn, and was built in a substantial manner; but years of neglect, and repeated inroads of the sea, soon told upon the work.

Some forty years ago a great part of the harbour was in existence. The pier was in ruins, but the harbour walls were still entire, though the basin was almost silted up with sand, only sufficient water being left to make it a favourite resort of school boys for sailing their toy boats. The remains of the pier and eastern bulwark may still be traced among the heap of stones scattered on the beach, but not a vestige remains of the harbour. It has entirely disappeared. Even the very site can with difficulty be traced, as the greater part of Messrs A. W. Buchan and Coy.'s pottery is now built over what was the old harbour basin. Amid the ruins may still be found stones that have done duty elsewhere, old steps, mullions, and pediments of doors or windows, and even pieces of broken Gothic pillars. These are supposed to have formed part of the old college of Edinburgh and other buildings near the South Bridge, which were demolished in 1789 to make way for the present University buildings.

At the time the harbour was built there were several other works in its neighbourhood besides the potteries referred to. In Tobago Street a flax mill had been opened, and further down a soap work. The motive power for these mills was supplied by a lade from the burn, which ran down the east side of the street in an open mill race, till it reached the foot, where it crossed through the "Trows" (now the Slaughter-houses) into what was called "Tibbie's Hole," then into the harbour. In its course to the harbour it drove several water wheels for the flax mills and potteries.

In 1841 it was still an open stream, most unsafe either by day or night, its unprotected state at that time being the subject of frequent discussion in the Town Council; but nothing apparently had been done for it until "the accidental drowning of a man in the same" in 1838, when it was then "declared to be dangerous."

Tradition has it, that one, if not two vessels were built and launched in the harbour of Portobello. The facts, so far as we have been able to trace them, appear to be that at the beginning of the century the flax mill was bought by James Smith, who converted it into



THE OLD HARBOUR.

white lead works, where he turned the lead into paint. It was a large business, a great staff of workmen, chiefly Englishmen, being employed in making white paint, ivory, and lamp black, etc. Smith used not only the mill (now Messrs A. Nichol & Coy.'s paper mill),

but also the ground now occupied by the Gas Works, and so extensive was his business that he had another manufactory—probably the older of the two—on the south side of the High Street behind the Adelphi Place Hall. He did an extensive trade with South America and the West Indies in these commodities, and was the owner of several small vessels. His mill in Tobago Street being adjacent to the burn, he occasionally had these hauled up to his yard to be repaired. It is said that Smith built at least two new ships here, launching and floating them down to the sea at stream tide. One of these was named "The Fox," and the other the "Five Sisters." In all probability they were small schooners or brigs, large enough to undertake an Atlantic voyage to South America. Smith's dwelling-house, which he built on the south side of the High Street at the top of Pipe Street, was, from the peculiar materials of which it is built, called the "Dander House." It is still in existence. Such generally was the aspect of the little town, and the character of its various industries towards the end of last century.

The detached dwellings with their orchards, and the groups of workmen's houses to be seen on either side of the highway, had as yet assumed no kind of homogenity. There was no community of interest among the people, and indeed it appears as if the place —to the outside world at least—had no definite and generally accepted name. Sometimes we find it called "Brickfield," sometimes "Bilboa," sometimes "Portobello," and sometimes, as in Ainslie's plan, the "Village of Figgate." A few of the authorities for this variety of names may be mentioned; thus, in *Hugo Arnot's History of Edinburgh*, published in 1779, we find it termed "Brickfield or Portobello," in connection with the export of bricks to Norway, the West Indies, and Gibraltar. In the *Statistical Account of the Parish of Duddingston*, written in 1796 by the parish minister, Rev. William Bennet, the place strangely enough is described as if there were two separate villages. "Portobello and Brickfield," he says, "now the most populous and prosperous villages of the parish, are but of very recent origin and name." . . . "Besides the ordinary houses required for the brick, pottery, and tile manufactures, a number of gay or commodious dwellings have been erected by the feuars." In Taylor and Skinner's Survey of Scotland, published 1776, where the leading highways are delineated with careful minuteness, the

name "Bilboa" appears alongside of Porto-Bello House or Hut, and was probably applied to a house, or group of houses, standing eastward of the top of Wellington Street or the Blue Bell Inn.

In all probability the explanation of this distinction, or variety of names, is to be found in this, that "Brickfield" was applied to the houses and works in the neighbourhood of the burn, both on its east and west banks, Portobello was applied to the scattered dwellings on the High Street eastward as far as the "Hut" and the Blue Bell Court, while the older name of "Figgate" was applied to the neighbourhood of Wilson's Park, and continued so till about the end of the century. Ultimately, however, as the place grew in size and importance this multiplicity of names was found to be inconvenient, and gradually the designations Brickfield, Bilboa, and Village of Figgate disappeared, and PORTOBELLO came to be more generally adopted. The name Figgate only now appears in the feu charters of the lands and houses within the limits of Ainslie's plan.

That it was as yet a village of little or no importance, is evident from a reference to contemporary writers. Thus in Alexander Campbell's *Journey from Edinburgh through parts of North Britain* —a large and elaborate work published in two volumes quarto in 1802—no mention is made of Portobello, or even of the locality, though the writer must have passed through it. Places in the neighbourhood, such as Inveresk and Musselburgh, are described, and complimentary reference made to Dr Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk for his Statistical Account of these places. "From Musselburgh to Edinburgh," says Campbell, "is about five miles. There is nothing remarkable to be met with on the way, till within a short distance of the city, when a most striking view of its peculiar situation is seen to great advantage." So that it would appear, the straggling, perhaps dirty and unprepossessing clusters of dwellings, potteries, and mills, going by the name of "Brickfield," Village of Figgate, or Portobello had not as yet been found worthy of at least this traveller's passing notice!

A few years later, however, viz., in 1805, another writer, with evidently a better eye for the natural beauties of the situation, and the possibilities of future growth, describes it as follows:—"At an equal distance from Edinburgh, Leith, and Musselburgh, has risen a beautiful village called Portobello. The grounds called Figgate, consisting of about sixty acres, on which the village is

built, are upon the sea shore. The beach has a gentle descent to the sea, the waters of which are pure and clean." . . . "For several years past Portobello has been much resorted to in the summer season by the citizens of Edinburgh and others for sea bathing; and a number of elegant houses have been there lately erected and gardens laid out on the grounds of Mr Jameson, some of which are occupied by the proprietors themselves, and others are let out to hire."* Its resident population was not large. A work called *Scotland Delineated*, published in 1799, has a short notice of Portobello, which it describes as "a rising village of about 300 inhabitants, employed in the manufacture of bricks, tiles, jars, brown pottery, and white stoneware;" but it has no reference whatever to it as a summer residence or watering place. After this, however, its growth was rapid. The opening of the century was indeed the starting point of the town's existence as a community. Something like public spirit began to be felt. Shopkeepers opened premises, tradesmen increased, residents and feuars combined to attract others to the locality, and public institutions were formed for the religious and social comfort of the inhabitants.

As yet, in addition to the main street, only two or three side streets had been opened up. These were Rosefield Avenue, Tobago Street, Pipe Street, Ramsay Lane, Wilson's Park, and probably Nicolson Street or Jameson Street, now Windsor Place. Tower Street was staked off and opened for feuing in 1802, and about the same time Bath Street, which formed part of the grounds of Mr John Dickson, was also begun to be feued off for building. Little of it was, however, built upon for several years. In the original feuing plan for this street, dated 8th April 1801, the top of the street is represented as having large ornamental iron gates across the roadway, which, we believe, formed the carriage way to Mount Charles, the intention apparently being to make it a private street.

The land from Rosefield Avenue eastward to what is now Brighton Place, having been sold by Jameson to Mrs Elizabeth Ann Hay, wife of John Turnbull, merchant in Edinburgh, was in 1799 feued by her to Charles Ritchie, merchant in Edinburgh, to the extent of "six acres and a Scotch acre" (the feu-duty being £23). Upon this there were several "brick tenements" or

* Forsyth's *Beauties of Scotland*.

cottages close to the highway, which are still standing, though they cannot be said to adorn the street. After taking down some "brick tenements" or cottages on the ground behind, he erected a commodious mansion, which was perhaps the first erection of its kind in the place built of stone. In 1811 the house and grounds were sold for £2900 to James Farquharson of Inverey, and it has ever since been known as Inverey House. The Invereys were for long the leading branch of the family of the Farquharsons. When they came to grief through their connection with the Rebellions of last century their extensive estates in Braemar, including Balmoral, came into the possession of Lord Fife—the first Balmoral being a younger son of Inverey, and the last of the main line being (if we are not mistaken) this same James Farquharson of Inverey House. He died in 1817, and the house and grounds after being held for a number of years by his niece, Miss Mary Ann Farquharson, were in 1863 purchased by Mr James Lamond, S.S.C., Edinburgh, who after a long residence there ultimately disposed of the property in 1895 to its present owner, Mr John Christie of Cowden.

The ground on the south side of the High Street where Brighton Place, Lee Crescent, and East and West Brighton Crescents now stand, was, at the beginning of the century, laid out in parks and fields belonging to the little farm of Middlefield, the houses and some of the offices of which may still be seen to the west side of the Town Hall.

All eastward of Bath Street was as yet in great measure open furze and waste grounds, with here and there enclosed fields and parks belonging to "Portobello Park" (now Park House) and the little farm of "Rabbit Hall." These, with their white-washed and red-tiled buildings, lay between the highway and the sea, forming rather picturesque features in the landscape. They were for the most part dairy farms. The late Bailie Douglas, who, as a boy, was brought up at Rabbit Ha', used to relate with much satisfaction his herding of the cows over the Easter Duddingston or North Links, inhaling the scent of the broom and wild thyme which mingled with the breeze from the ocean; and how occasionally he would get a shot at the rabbits which burrowed in thousands in the sand hills.

How changed the scene! A populous town has taken the place of the quiet, sweet-scented parks and sand hills. The sea

still beats with angry roar or peaceful plash upon the beach, but instead of the unfenced downs, it is now bounded by a fashionable promenade and elegant villas.



RABBIT HA' FARM.

CHAPTER XIX.

PORTOBELLO AS A WATERING PLACE.



HEN Dr Robert Chambers published his *Picture of Scotland* at the beginning of the century he had very little to say of Portobello, the whole being compressed into some twelve or fourteen lines to the effect that "Portobello is greatly resorted to during the summer months by those afflicted with the necessity or the frenzy of sea bathing!" In those days a visit to the seaside was not the easy matter-of-fact thing it is now. It was a treat not to be thought of every day. It was the few, and those mainly of the upper classes, who could indulge in a seaside residence or lodging, while the great mass of the working population seldom got away from their toil to visit the country. The absence of railways, and the expensiveness of travelling by stage coach were great barriers to this, and so, many—even very well-to-do people—in our inland towns, lived and died without ever having seen the ocean. Now, with railways, tramways, and coaches, it is quite possible for business men in such cities as Glasgow or Edinburgh to reside forty or fifty miles distant, transacting their daily business in the city, and getting home to their seaside residence in ample time for dinner. When Robert Chambers says "Portobello was greatly resorted to during the summer months," it must therefore be taken to mean something very different from what it does now.

Up to end of the century the principal sea-bathing resort of the people of Edinburgh was the Leith sands, near to Leith Links, where there was a good stretch of beach, and where bathing machines had been kept for hire since the year 1761 at least, as we learn from an advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury* of that year, which informs us that for the use of one of these machines "each person is to pay 1s for each time they bath." Leith sands were long a favourite resort, not only for bathing, but for horse racing and fairs, and the virtues of the hot sea-water baths

for invalids having been advocated by the medical profession led to a demand for public baths of this kind. Seafield Baths were erected to meet the demand. But proximity to the chemical works gradually destroyed the amenity of the place; and now, docks, railways, and mills, have entirely usurped the site of this once favourite resort.

In 1795 comes the first notice we have of Portobello beach being provided with bathing machines. We find it in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, of 11th June:—

BATHING MACHINES.

John Cairns at Portobello, two miles east from Edinburgh, begs most respectfully to inform the ladies, gentlemen, and public that he has erected Bathing Machines upon the best construction, with steady horses and careful drivers. The bathing sands are more than a mile long, perfectly smooth, free from stones and danders, the water clear and strong, and THE BEACH VERY RETIRED.

Regular attendance will be given the whole of this season at the same prices and on the same regulations as those at Leith. He therefore solicits their patronage, and assures them that every exertion will be made to give satisfaction to all who favour him with their employment.

Cairns' description of the beach was doubtless quite correct. It was still skirted landwards by a wide fringe of bent, sand hills, and furze, and could be truly said to be "very retired." If any evidence were required as to the secluded nature of the place, we have it in the fact that duels were not uncommon. Even nine years after this, the *Scots Magazine* reports that "on the 9th January 1806, a duel was fought on Portobello sands between Major Tulloch and Captain M'Kay, both of the 10th, or Inverness-shire Regiment of Militia, the Major receiving a bullet in his thigh, which had nearly proved fatal." Even as late as 1825, "an affair of honour," came off on the sands between two Piershill officers, but without fatal results. But the popularity of the bathing resort increased year by year. The enterprise of honest John Cairns must have had its reward, for the bathing machines were more and more in demand, and as the attractiveness of Leith sands decreased, that of Portobello grew. The latter place, being considered more inaccessable than the former, was chiefly patronised by those who could afford to drive, or occupy lodgings in the village, or who had a seaside residence of their own. It was "fashionable," and too expensive for plain folk.

The chief attraction was undoubtedly the fine level sandy beach, than which for bathing purposes it was admitted there was no finer in the whole country. In addition, however, to this, it was discovered that the locality was possessed of two excellent chalybeate, or mineral springs. The people of Edinburgh had therefore within easy distance all the requisites of a first-class "spa." The springs referred to were situated one at the west end of the town, and the other at Joppa. The former was at first the more largely frequented. It was situated in a garden behind the houses on the east side of Pipe Street, and in the early part of the century was a very fashionable morning resort. Until a year or two ago the spring was still visible, but it is now quite dry, consequent upon the erection of a large gas holder in the vicinity. The other spring at Joppa was, at the beginning of the century, situated in a garden near to the main road, where there was a well with drinking cups for the accommodation of visitors, a small sum being charged from those using it. The supply here having in some way become interrupted the spring was neglected for a time. It found vent, however, lower down and nearer to the Promenade at the foot of Joppa Lane. About fifty years ago there was a pretty large open basin, in the centre of which the water bubbled up about half a foot. It was of a red brick colour. Unfortunately on the starting of a pump on the Niddrie Burn to drain the water from the Niddrie coal pits, the supply of water was again interrupted, and this excellent mineral spring, which was strongly impregnated with oxide of iron and sulphate of lime and magnesia, ceased to flow with its former fulness. At last when the Promenade was extended eastwards, it was in 1869 deviated into the drains and so has also disappeared from view.

With the inducements to invalids of pure air, clear water, a safe, level, smooth, sandy beach, and two mineral springs, it was no wonder the little town attracted visitors. But it had other inducements to offer to the young and fair. The sands were found to be excellent drilling ground for troops, especially for cavalry, and not only the cavalry regiments at Piershill Barracks, but the Midlothian Yeomanry Cavalry, or Edinburgh Light Horse, of which Sir Walter Scott was a distinguished member, drilled here every summer in the early years of the century during the Peninsular War, down to about the year 1870. These

military parades on Portobello sands are frequently referred to in the literature of the first half of the century; and Aytoun's racy story in *Blackwood's Magazine*, entitled *How I became a Yeoman*, admirably hits off the characteristics of the place and time.

In 1804 a movement was set on foot for hot and cold sea-water baths. A company was formed for the purpose, the intention being to erect a commodious building having eight hot water and two cold water baths, with all the necessary conveniences for invalids, the expense of erecting which was estimated at £4000. The shares were £25 each, and each subscriber of one share was entitled to use the baths at half-price, besides sharing in the profits, and "a subscriber of two shares to bathe without any charge whatever." Ground was feued from Mr John Rae in what was called the "Bent's Park," extending 220 feet east and west by 97 feet southwards.

Mr William Jameson had a large share in furthering the concern. The *Courant* newspaper of 11th September of that year has the following account of the laying of the foundation stone: —"On Thursday last ground was broke at Portobello by Mr William Jameson in presence of several of the subscribers previously to laying the foundation stone of the Portobello Hot and Cold Sea Water Baths. The honour of breaking ground for that graceful and elegant undertaking could not have been more properly conferred than on Mr Jameson, a gentleman, who as being more than once convener of the Trades, is well known in this city. It was chiefly by his uncommon exertions and industry that Portobello has become within these few years a populous and thriving village, containing many pleasant and elegant villas. Many of our readers will remember the time when the ground at Portobello which now produces the plum, the nectarine, and the peach, was literally a barren waste; and it is no small proof of the prosperity and industry of this part of the country to observe that and other agreeable alterations which a few years have produced."

Lodging-house keepers were as yet few, and large sums were consequently charged for accommodation by those who had rooms to let. A demand followed as a natural result for additional houses, which the neighbouring proprietors of land were not slow to recognise, by holding out inducements to parties to build. Thus in 1804 the Marquis of Abercorn, whose property lay eastward and south, advertised as follows :—

SEA BATHING QUARTERS TO BE FEUED

Sundry small lots of ground at Rabbithall in the vicinity of Portobello. As these lots are situated at a small distance from the village, they join the advantages of retirement with the convenience of being near a good market which is now established at Portobello. Stage coaches are passing every hour of the day [to Musselburgh], and in addition to the advantages of a smooth beach, where bathing can be enjoyed at all times of the tide, hot and cold sea water baths are to be erected at Portobello. For particulars apply to Thomas Scott, W.S., at his chambers, Lawnmarket. 5th May 1804.

(Thomas Scott here referred to was the younger brother of Sir Walter.)

The various sub-feuars from Mr Jameson of the lands of Figgate were not slow either in taking advantage of the general movement for building, and accordingly Bath Place, Regent Street, Wellington Street, and Straiton Place were projected shortly afterwards.

The proprietors of the ground occupied by these streets were Mr Chalmers, Dr Jno. Rae, Mr Dickson, Mr Wilson, Mr Spottiswood, and Mr M'Kinnon. A feuing plan of the east side of Bath Street, dated 1805, has the following relative advertisement:—

To be sold by public roup, within the Royal Exchange Coffee House, Edinburgh, on Wednesday, the 13th November, at two o'clock, the remainder of 4 acres, 2 roods, 5 ells of ground situated on the east side of Bath Street, Portobello, leading from the public road betwixt Edinburgh and Musselburgh to the Hot and Cold baths.

It further mentions that

The ground lies within a few hundred feet of the Baths, which are now nearly fit for the reception of the public, and to which the street affords the only access.

This property belonged to Mr John Dickson, W.S., Mount Charles. At the foot of the street he had a bathing house for the use of his family, rather a curious octagonal building of brick, in imitation of the "Tower;" each side being arched and having a Gothic window, and the roof concealed by a battlement. It was not more than twelve feet diameter; but small though it was, it was afterwards used as a dwelling-house. Ultimately it was taken down about the year 1822.

John Rae, whose property included Regent Street and Wellington Street, Corebank, and Straiton Place—indeed, all from the High Street to the beach, was a surgeon of some celebrity in Edinburgh, being president of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1804-5. More distinguished, however, by his social gifts than by his professional attainments, he was in great request at the high jinks and other frolics then in vogue. In *Kay's Edinburgh Portraits* will be found several amusing episodes in which he figured, one of the illustrations representing him as a bottle holder in a wager, when his friend Hamilton Bell, W.S., undertook to walk from Edinburgh to Musselburgh carrying on his back all the way the waiter boy of the Star and Garter Tavern. Though thus heavily handicapped Mr Bell succeeded in defeating his competitor. Through his mother, Isobel, daughter of Ludovic Cant of Thurston, John Rae traced a lineal descent from the Cants of St Giles Grange, the old proprietors of Priestfield in the time of James III., one of whom, Henry Cant, represented Edinburgh in the old Scottish Parliament from 1473 to 1493.



THE BATHING-HOUSE.

Mr Rae came also from an ancient family, being descended from the Raes of Pitsindie and Canglor. Their tomb, recently restored, may still be seen in the Greyfriars Churchyard, where the family pedigree may be traced from the year 1616. Their name is still borne by "Rae's Close" at the head of the Canongate. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they were leading burgesses of the city, and figured as Bailies and medical men of some note. John Rae occupied Park House, which was then surrounded by a large orchard. He died in 1808, his wife in 1819. Mr Wilson gave his name to Wilson's Park, Maryfield adjoining being probably named after his wife.

Other proprietors seemed willing to grant feus, thus the following appears in the *Courant* of 13th September 1806 :—

VILLAS FOR SEA-BATHING.

To be feued by lots that part of the links of Mr Miller's Estate of Craigentinny well known to bathers by the name of the Figgate Whins. Plan with Mr Fraser, 14 York Place.

This ground on the west side of the burn was then very suitable for building, as the irrigation of the Craigentinny Estate by the sewage of Edinburgh had not yet been commenced. No feus were, however, taken off, the tendency for building being rather in an easterly direction.

The erection of the baths was completed in the spring of 1806, when they were opened to the public. They seem to have been at once largely patronised, for an advertisement in the same paper in August states that owing to the large and increasing demand "an additional supply of warm water was being provided," while "a public room was provided with magazines and pamphlets to amuse while waiting." It is curious to find also that "invalids are carried to and from the baths in sedan chairs," and for those who might be riding or driving there was a "stable for bather's horses." The concern at first and for several years was under the supervision of a board of directors, of whom Mr Thomas Tawse was chairman, with a manager resident in the house. A busy, bustling, fashionable place Portobello Baths must have been in those days, with visitors coming and going "from 7 a.m. till 10 p.m."

Some amusing references are made to the characters who then frequented the place in Miss Corbett's curious, and at the time rather famous novel, "The Busy Bodies of Portobello." The scene of the tale is a two-storey house in Bath Street, now removed, overlooking the Baths, where the heroine expresses her delight in being able to have all the gaiety of the place under her eye, and to see all the military passing down the street to the sands. It was from one of the upper windows of this house that an old lady—the mother of Miss Julia St George, a celebrated actress in her day, threw herself over and was killed.

In 1806 a stage coach was established between Edinburgh and Portobello. The following is the advertisement in the *Courant* of 12th April 1806, announcing the convenience. It runs thus :—

PORTOBELLO STAGE COACH.

A handsome stage coach, provided with good horses, and a careful driver, began to run on the 9th curt. between Edinburgh and Portobello.

It sets off from Peter M'Arthur's [Pipe Street], vintner, at Portobello, at half-past nine o'clock in the morning, two afternoon, and seven o'clock in the evening; and from Mr John Swanston's, grocer, head of Niddry Street, Edinburgh, for Portobello at eleven forenoon, a quarter-past three o'clock afternoon, and eight in the evening. The fare is 10d.

N.B.—The proprietors are only to be answerable for such parcels (under the value of £5) as are booked at the office.

Practically this fare meant one shilling, as the custom was to give the odd pence as a perquisite to the driver.

Thus brought within easy range of the capital, though at rather a high price, a considerable stream of visitors flowed into the place, though doubtless limited to what we would call the "upper classes." These for the most part were content with the very indifferent accommodation provided by those who let apartments, rather than forego the advantages to be derived from residence in the neighbourhood of the Baths. It was no uncommon thing in those days for the big family carriage of an Edinburgh grandee to be seen waiting for its owners at the door of a small plain house in Tower Street, Bath Street, Straiton Place, or even in Wilson's Park. Baronets and even Peers were frequently to be found thus occupying small lodgings.

For those who were not so happily circumstanced as to command a private conveyance, the "careful driver" of the "handsome stage coach" referred to, was quite prepared, on notice given, to call at any part of the "village" for the purpose of picking up intending travellers. Old Rice Forsyth, the proprietor, thus established a lucrative and popular line of coaches, which for fully half a century kept the road, and was known as "Forsyth's coaches." He was not however without competitors, as another coach was afterwards run for many years by one Ross of the Crown Inn.

Already the place enjoyed the rather doubtful advantage of having a good many public-houses or "inns," mostly all in the High Street. A post office had been opened under the charge of Mr James Newlands at the head of Tower Street, where, as the chief local man of business, as house agent, valuator, auctioneer, and banker, he for a long period of years exercised a considerable influence on the early destinies of the place. The delivery of the correspondence was, as may be supposed, not a heavy business, being barely sufficient for one person. The post runner at that

time being a little widow woman named Nanny Moffat. Her not very arduous duties were discharged with faithfulness, and we believe she was a general favourite among the inhabitants of the village.

One thing as yet was wanting. The village, with probably a resident population in 1807 of somewhere about 800 souls, had no public place of worship. The Parish Minister held an occasional evening meeting in a barn or loft connected with the Lead Works. In this place Mr James Haldane was frequently in the habit, during the summer season when he and his family made Portobello their temporary residence, of preaching to the people. An attempt was made to prejudice the mind of Mr Jameson against this good man by some enemies of evangelical preaching, who insinuated that he was inimical to the "powers that be," and that he did not even pray for the King. The accusation was found to be false, and it led to a close intimacy between them. In a letter from Mr Jameson's daughter we learn that "Mr Haldane's labours for the spiritual good of the people of Portobello by preaching and private ministrations were unwearied and highly appreciated." He had frequently for his auditor, she says, "the admirable and pious Mr Bennet, then minister of Duddingston."

Nor were the children of the place in these early days altogether neglected. Among others who took an active part in this good work, it is pleasing to find the names of several of Edinburgh's prominent citizens. Mr Lothian, father of Mr Maurice Lothian, some time Procurator-Fiscal for the county, along with a young companion of his named Adam Black, called at every house in the place to recruit scholars, and had the satisfaction of opening a Sunday School with about a hundred children. Mr Black, who afterwards rose to the distinction of the Lord Provostship and M.P. for the city, took sole charge of the school, and, we are told, "worked it with remarkable success for several years, going down to Portobello every Sunday evening, summer and winter, fair weather or foul. 'This is part of my life,' he afterwards said, 'that I look back upon with the greatest satisfaction. If I have been of any use to my fellow creatures it was here.'"

Those who desired to attend church went either to Duddingston or Edinburgh. Gradually the inconvenience of this was felt to be so considerable than an attempt was made to supply in some measure the spiritual necessities of the locality. After some

negotiation by a committee of the inhabitants with the Commissioner of the Marquis of Abercorn, a suitable site for a chapel was acquired in a newly prospected street proposed to be opened on the Marquis's ground, and which he had named Melville Street, after the famous Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, at that time M.P. for Edinburgh, and First Lord of the Admiralty under Mr Pitt's Government. In the line of this projected street stood the quaint little red-tiled farm steading of Rabbit Ha'—so named, no doubt, from the enormous number of rabbits which found a shelter in the neighbouring sand hills of the "North Links." This site was obtained at a feu-duty of £2 per annum, and vested by a conveyance dated 25th March 1809, in the following gentlemen as trustees for the contributors, viz., John Baxter, builder; Wm. Marshall, plumber; Alexander Guthrie, bookseller; James Marshall, Bank of Scotland, Edinburgh; John Baxter, jun., architect; John Brown, printer; Robert Cargill, writer; Charles Guthrie, bookseller; Thomas Henderson, senr., merchant, all of Edinburgh; Hugh Mitchell, wood merchant, Fisherrow; John Marshall, plumber; William Jameson, architect; John Muir, merchant; John Marwick, carver and gilder; and Thomas Henderson, jun. Most of these, it will be observed, were Edinburgh men, the latter named Thomas Henderson being the then City Chamberlain, whose house—Wellington Lodge—stood in extensive orchard grounds at the top of Wellington Street facing the main road. After the necessary arrangements had been completed, the little farm house of Rabbit Ha' was taken down and the chapel planted in its place. As we have elsewhere entered into details connected with the ecclesiastical affairs of the parish, we do not require to say more on the subject here, except to mention the fact that the chapel was subordinate to the Parish Church of Duddingston and its Kirk Session, and being merely a Chapel of Ease it had not a fully ordained minister until 1818. Its first preacher was Mr Thomas Wright, who, after a term of five years, was, on his translation to the parish of Borthwick, succeeded by the Rev. John Glen in 1814. Mr Glen's ministry extended to the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, when he, along with his kirk session and the greater part of his people joined the Free Church.

During the first decade of the century we thus find that a remarkable impetus had been given to the attractiveness of the

village as a healthy suburban resort, so that not merely wealthy citizens, but many of the aristocracy, found in it all the conveniences of fashionable summer quarters. In 1811 a writer in the *Edinburgh Courant*, dilating at length on the merits of the place, observes that "during the summer months this village had been the resort of the gay and fashionable. The baths had been elegantly fitted up with a reading room, and the place had been recommended by the medical faculty." Some of the attractions are even enumerated, and include "a plentiful supply of bathing machines," "a fine level safe beach," "the church," "schools for children," "shops of every kind," "coaches to and from Edinburgh," and last, but not least, "a doctor." That it could then only boast of *one* doctor speaks volumes as to its healthiness. One of the good old school was Dr Robert Kerr, its first surgeon and medical practitioner; a stately, well-dressed little gentleman, whose gold-headed cane, white cravat, and faultless collar, adorned his calling, and if he did not make a fortune at his profession, it was not for want of titled patients, for among the fashionables then living in Portobello, we find the names of Lord and Lady Fingall, Lord Killan, Lord Petre, Lord and Lady Ashburton, Lord Elibank, the Hon. Captain Murray, Lady Glencairn, Lord Cullen, Henry Eskine younger of Almondell, Lady Campbell of Ardkinglass, Mr and Mrs Trotter of Dreghorn, the Earl of Caithness, "besides," says our authority, "a number of genteel families who reside throughout the year."



THE TOWER, 1898.

CHAPTER XX.

SOME OLD PORTOBELLO SPORTS AND SPECTACLES.

FROM an early period in her history, Portobello has been noted as the theatre of many brilliant public spectacles, the spacious and level sandy beach affording a fitting stage upon which thousands of performers and spectators could with comfort and safety see and be seen. Extending from the old harbour to Joppa for more than a mile, and covering a superficial area between high and low water mark of 106 acres, no beach in the country could equal it for such purposes. We have seen that it was utilised by Oliver Cromwell and Prince Charles Edward. In more modern times Races and Military Reviews have frequently given life and animation to the sands, while the sea has on many occasions contributed its spectacles of regattas or aquatic feats. To these open-air attractions there has seldom ever been any lack of admiring and appreciative spectators, drawn not merely from the residents of the town, or the temporary summer lodger, with his wife and family seeking a change of air and scene, from, it may be, some smoky manufacturing inland town, but from the neighbouring city with its teeming multitudes of artizans and shopmen, to whom the fresh breezes of the beach were life and health.

Portobello society, especially at the beginning of the century, consisted for the most part of two extremes, there was little of a middle class. The gentry consisted mostly of retired lieutenants, captains, majors, colonels, and an occasional general, with half-pay naval officers having the possibilities of becoming admirals or rear admirals of the British Fleet, if they lived long enough—in retirement; not to speak of pensioners from the Civil Service, retired doctors, bankers, and lawyers, and members of the Peerage.

In these days the town could boast of its beauty and its fashion as it still does, and little Nanny Moffat, the post runner of the

day, not infrequently called with her parcel of letters for his Grace the Duke of Argyle and the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Morton and Caithness, the Chisholms of Chisholm, the Mackintosh of Mackintosh, Cluny Macpherson, the Campbells of Fairfield, Lady Valliant, the Homes of Milgreden, the Earl of Breadalbane, Lord Elibank, the Countess of Kintore, Lady Molesworth, Lady Charlotte Macgregor, Lockhart, the son-in-law of Sir Walter Scott, and occasionally the great novelist himself. For the amusement of the aristocracy of the place Portobello Races were instituted in the early years of the century, the prizes offered being defrayed by subscription, and the horses running being the thoroughbreds of their day.

On the other hand there was, as there still is, a considerable working class population, engaged at that time chiefly in the brickworks, potteries, soap and lead works, and the glass houses. Connected with these there was necessarily (before the days of railways) a large amount of carting, and we find accordingly that carters as a body formed a not inconsiderable proportion of the population. They seem to have generally formed themselves into societies for mutual support throughout the country where they were in sufficient numbers, their weekly or monthly contributions being applied to relieve distress when out of work or in sickness, or in payment of funeral expenses in cases of death. But in addition to these laudable objects, the carters seem also to have had a strong spirit of emulation in regard to the merits of their steeds. We find Dr Begg, in his statistical account of Liberton, speaking of the "Carters' plays" in that parish with anything but favour. Of their societies "for supporting each other in old age, or during ill health," he thought they were undoubtedly useful, but of the "plays," he says, "they are fortunately declining." The plays commenced with a procession, "every man decorates his cart horse with flowers and ribbons, and a regular procession is formed, accompanied by a band of music. To crown all there is an uncouth uproarious race with cart horses on the public road, which draws forth a crowd of Edinburgh idlers, and all ends in a dinner, for which a fixed sum is paid. Much rioting and profligacy," says the worthy Doctor "often take place in connection with these amusements, and the whole scene is melancholy."

From a very early period some such sports had also been practised by the carters of the neighbouring town of Leith, where

the races came off on the sands, and have been immortalised by Robert Ferguson in the poem "Leith Races."

"Whan on Leith sands the races rare
Wi' jockey louns are met,
Their orra pennies there to ware,
And drown themsels in debt,
Fu' deep that day."

Portobello carters, in no way behind their neighbours, had from an early part of the century carried on similar sports on the beach. Generally these commenced with a procession of the cart horses gaily dressed with ribbons and flowers, and a few of their "mounts" in characteristic costume, accompanied by the Free Gardeners with their banners and floral devices. The races were run on the sands, a wooden platform being erected nearly opposite the Tower, from which the starts were made, and the judges and their friends had the privilege of seeing that all had fair play. The prizes were generally saddles, bridles, or other harness, or even legs of mutton, hams, cheese, and bottles of whisky figured in the list. As a rule, the riders or jockeys were gaily dressed in the costume of the turf—coloured silk jackets, white breeches, and Hessian boots—and presented a somewhat ludicrous contrast to the ponderous heavy-footed animals which they endeavoured to coax or whip into a pace beyond their ordinary "jog-trot!" The course, which varied in length, generally about fifty yards from the ordinary high water mark, east and west, was generally bounded on both sides by a crowd of admiring or sympathising friends, whose cheers or laughter gave zest to the proceedings, mingled as the various events were with a good deal of "chaff" and profane language.

The Carters' Play always drew to the beach a great concourse of shows, shooting galleries, gambling tables, stalls of all kinds for eating and drinking, lotteries, swing-boats, merry-go-rounds, &c., &c., while pickpockets, thimbleriggers, and thieves found too frequently the gathering of a plentiful harvest from the simple and careless, anything but a difficult matter.

The gathering was a very motley one, and partook altogether of the character of a fair; articles of all sorts besides what might be eaten or drunk on the spot, being brought together to tempt those with a little spare cash in their pockets. Among the vendors of wares who yearly appeared at the Carters' Play per-

haps none was so popular as Johnny Salmond from Kirkcaldy. His speciality was gingerbread, which he sold either wholesale or retail as he found customers. He had a large covered van, always well filled with cakes of all sizes and qualities, with which he travelled from place to place, attending most of the fairs, race meetings, or other country gatherings. He generally sold his wares by auction, and his mode of conducting his business gave great amusement to the large crowds which surrounded his van. He had a great variety of names for his gingerbread, and standing on the front of his cart, he would call out, "Here you are good folks—this is Chambers' Information for the people in five volumes"—putting up five large cakes. He would go on adding "volume" after "volume," as the bidding went on, till suddenly he would throw the whole lot into the lap of some old wife, adding as she gathered them up, "Ane for Jamie, and ane for Wullie, and ane for Jock!" or, "There's ane for yer man, and ane for yer dochter, and ane for yersel!" At another time he would expatiate on the merits of the gingerbread, describing it as "a loadstone for catching virgins," which no young man should be without! Suddenly in the middle of business he would cry out, "Feed the Kaffirs," and throwing a quantity of the smaller cakes among the crowd cause a general scramble. Or, if some unfortunate dandy, with a fine new hat, attracted his attention, he would kindly invite him forward to hold out his hat and get some cakes for nothing. Anyone simple enough to comply with the invitation, and unsuspectingly coming forward to receive the proffered gift, generally rued it bitterly; for no sooner had he got his hat full, than it was the signal for a general attack by the crowd for a share of its contents. Few hats, either new or old, ever came out of one of these scrambles fit to be seen on the wearer's head again.

Another of Salmond's tricks—and these were all in the way of gathering a crowd, and so advertising himself—was to start about a dozen lads on a race to run round some old gentleman or lady sedately walking along the sands and little dreaming of danger, until they suddenly found themselves in the middle of a mob of shouting excited boys and men.

Sometimes in his fun there appeared a dash of the profane; "Come awa, my man," he would say to a hungry-looking man, "I see ye hae a want between yer teeth, maybe ye hae been a

preacher like me, but this is grand stuff for fattening, made o' blood and sawdust!"

Salmond kept a large establishment in Kirkcaldy for making gingerbread, and it is said sent out as many as twenty vans throughout the country to fairs and races.

Among other amusements to be found on the beach on these occasions, and indeed generally throughout the season, was the "Punch and Judy" show. This was a never-failing occasion for drawing a crowd of idlers, or open-mouthed youngsters, whose shouts of laughter testified their delight at the wonderful tragedy of "Punch."

There was no promenade in those days. People had to content themselves with standing or walking on the loose sand, not a very easy matter when the tide was full. But here and there there were elevated unbuilt-upon spaces where a better vantage ground could be had by those who wished to view races or reviews, "Punch and Judy," or other shows from a safe distance. At the foot of Tower Street, opposite the Tower—at that time a ruin—there was a large elevated space; another elevated terrace was at Corebank, where Mount Æolus now stands, and at the foot of Melville Street at what was then Scott's Baths there was another such open space. These, on high occasions, were generally crowded by a gay concourse of spectators, and not unfrequently the beach was lined with a row of carriages belonging to the fashion and rank of Edinburgh and the neighbourhood.

Portobello races seem to have been highly popular eighty or ninety years ago, for we find mention of the annual race coming off in July 1811, at which we are told in the *Courant* newspaper of the day that, "Portobello Races on Monday last afforded most excellent sport. By a judicious alteration of the stewards the winning post was placed on the east extremity of the Bath ground, and thence the elevated and extensive grass bank adjoining, which commands an entire view of the race course, was between the winning and distance posts. That bank was graced by a numerous assembly of rank and fashion of both sexes, who between the heats were amused with airs played by the band of the Argyleshire Militia Regiment." Then after a description of several of the races, the writer concludes by saying "the day was fine, and the company more numerous than on any former occasion, and the stewards and subscribers had the pleasant reflection

that the day passed without any accident, or at least any disturbance." "Portobello Races," it is further mentioned, "will be run for next year on the first Monday after Leith races; before which time the new tavern and hotel in Bath Street will be opened, at which there will be an assembly in the evening."

In another notice in the same paper of the year 1819, it is mentioned that at the races on Portobello sands there was "a numerous company, including a number of ladies and several carriages," the first and second prizes competed for being ten and five guineas. The Carters' Play came to an end as a local institution about the year 1853, having survived the races a good many years, the immediate cause of the stoppage being we believe the disappearance of the treasurer for the time "with the box and all the money." It has never been revived.

In its time some well-known local worthies were identified with its glories, among whom old residenters will remember such names as John Ormiston, old James Fyfe, old "Rangy" Shepherd, and "Neckie" Robertson. Good Templarism was a thing at that time unknown, and the festivities of the day on the beach were invariably wound up by a dinner of roast lamb and new potatoes, with a plentiful wash down of ale and whisky in the Black Bull or Crown Inn.

The class of customers brought into the place by these gatherings were frequently of the worst description. Thieves and rogues of all kinds were plentiful, and taxed to the uttermost the scanty police supervision of the day.

It is somewhat strange that our knowledge of the time when these races came into vogue at Portobello should be derived from the criminal calendar; but so it is, for we find in a memoir of the life and trial of the notorious James Mackcoull, who was tried and condemned to death for robbing the branch of the Paisley Union Bank at Glasgow of something between £30,000 and £40,000 in the year 1811, reference made to a robbery in 1808 of a gentleman's silver watch at Portobello races by one Bill Thorp, *alias* "Red Will," under the assumed name of "Mr" Harrison. Frequently during his life Portobello seems to have got the benefit of this gentleman's presence, accompanied by that of his wife—described as an "elegant female," with whom he engaged "handsome lodgings," where "with a retinue of servants, horses, and carriages they lived like people of the first rank." After a

remarkable career of crime he was ultimately brought to trial before the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh in 1820, and condemned to death. His agent in this celebrated trial was Mr William Jameson, W.S., son of William Jameson the founder, or as he is sometimes styled—"The Father of Portobello." It is not at all improbable that he may have formed the acquaintance of Mackcoull during his residence in Portobello in 1815, with his "retinue of servants, horses, and carriages;" for he mixed freely in such aristocratic society as Portobello then afforded. Be that as it may, the law was at length too much for Mackcoull. Notwithstanding all his effrontery, the skill of his agent, and the elaborate and ingenious eloquence of his counsel, he was found guilty and condemned to be executed. Great exertions were made in influential quarters on his behalf, and three times over was he actually respited, before the final order for his execution from the Secretary of State came from London. It was finally determined that it was to take place on the 22nd December 1820. But before the fatal morning came Mackcoull, cheating justice to the last, contrived to end his mis-spent life at his own hand by swallowing a dose of poison, which had been secretly conveyed to him in prison.

David Haggart, who ended his days on the gallows in 1821, was another of the professional thieves who found employment at these gatherings, and made Portobello a place of refuge when hard pressed by the attentions of the police. He tells us indeed, in that curious memoir of his, written just before his execution, that it was at Portobello Races he commenced his career as a pickpocket, in August 1817. Observing a gentleman on the race stand who had been very successful in his bets, he watched his opportunity and "got the first dive into his pockets," and got clear away with the contents. This he mentions as "his earliest public exploit" in a remarkable career of crime.

Among the many itinerant contributors to the amusement of the people of Portobello who from time to time visited the town, none were ever more welcome, especially among the more juvenile section, than the famous Equestrian, Thomas Ord. Once a year at least he pitched his tent on "the Links," generally continuing his performances for two or three days, or rather evenings. He had for a very long period, stretching over at least half a century, travelled over the country visiting every village and town of any

consequence. He was consequently well known during the latter part of the last and the first half of the present century. The news that Ord's Circus was coming, was generally hailed with delight by the boys of the town, who looked forward to seeing those daring feats of horsemanship, for which he was famous, and hearing the funny jokes of the clown—all for nothing. At the time when he was in better circumstances Ord had a large tent, and admission was charged, but during the latter part of his career this was abandoned, and the exhibition was an open one. A ring was formed on the turf of the Links, within which the performance took place, while the spectators congregated at some little distance round, or assembled in knots on the elevated ground nearer the highway. On one side he had a covered stand with seats, for which a small charge was made from those who used them; and which were not unfrequently well patronised by the "gentry."

He was a tall, rather slenderly made man; carried himself with much dignity of manner; and his grave and reverend appearance always commanded respect. His exhibitions of horsemanship whether in Dick Turpin the Highwayman, Mazeppa, or Rob Roy, were certainly very remarkable, especially as performed by one who had reached the allotted span of life.

His method of making the performance pay was by lottery. Towards the close of each evening's entertainment the crowd round the ring were canvassed to buy tickets for the lottery, at 6d a ticket. The prizes consisted generally of light ornaments or fancy goods with one or two superior articles by way of inducement, such as an eight-day clock, a gold or silver watch, a cheese, or a load of meal. Whether tempted by the chances of the lottery, or as a recompense for the entertainment, the larger proportion of the audience purchased tickets, and thus in this precarious way was the establishment supported.

In the year 1858 he made his last appearance on the Links, an old man of eighty, still taking an active part in the performance with his son-in-law Delaney. In *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, a well written history of his native town by the late Mr William Hunter, for some years Provost of Portobello, we have an interesting narrative of Ord's career. He says:—"Mr Ord's early history is obscure. It has been stated that he was the son of the Rev. Selby Ord, minister of Longformacus; that he

was for some time a medical student; and, that being of a roving disposition, he threw aside the lancet and dissecting knife, and enlisted into a cavalry regiment, in which he served till a friend of his father purchased his discharge. On the other hand it has been asserted that he engaged himself, when a boy, to a distinguished equestrian of the name of Macdonald, with whom he served five years. In his sixteenth year (or about 1794) it is said he started as a equestrian on his own account, and in this character made his *debut* at Kelso. However this may be, it is certain, that at an early part of his career, as a Master Equestrian, he drew a company round him, and performed with *eclat* in many of the smaller towns of Scotland. Having great confidence in his own abilities, and encouraged by the success which had attended his previous efforts, he set up regular establishments in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, Inverness, Dumfries, &c., and everywhere received substantial marks of public favour. He then made a descent upon England, and performed in a large number of towns in the sister kingdom; but here his good fortune forsook him. His heavy expenditure in attempting to cater for the amusement of the Southrons was not always covered by the receipts, and in the end he was forced to dispose of the greater part of his stud, to break up his troop of artists, and return to Scotland in comparative poverty.

"His last appearance on horseback was at Thornhill, on the 29th September 1859. He proceeded with his company to Ayrshire, and intended to take part in the performances at Galston, and other towns; but he became indisposed, and at his own request, was conveyed to his home at Biggar. Here he grew gradually worse, and at last closed his earthly career on the 27th December following, aged upwards of eighty years, A proposal was made at the time of his death to raise a subscription to erect a monument to his memory, but it appears never to have been actively prosecuted, and may now be said to be abandoned." Mr Hunter speaking further of the character of Mr Ord says, and we believe truly, that "he was temperate in his habits, charitable in his disposition, and opposed to anything like fraud and gambling." In his day "he was an equestrian of the first order." In proof of his skill in the heyday of his strength and vigour, it is said he challenged the renowned Andrew Ducrow to a trial of skill and agility for £500, but the latter refused to peril his reputation by

entering the lists against so fearless and renowned a competitor.

With the death of the old man, the fame and reputation of the establishment, continued by his son-in-law, rapidly declined. He appeared for a few years on Portobello links, but there seemed to be wanting the interest and enthusiasm formerly manifested in Ord's annual appearance. Ultimately the concern was broken up and came to an end, and from that day the links ceased to be a resort for circus or show of any kind.

The ground was, however, largely used by the boys and girls of the town for games of all kinds, cricket and even golf being played night after night. The building of Elcho Terrace somewhat curtailed its suitableness for these healthy recreations, and ultimately the public were altogether deprived of the use of a piece of ground which in the memory of man had never been enclosed and was always looked upon as public property.

For many years after Ord's day the old circus ring in the centre was visible, until, in 1878, what remained of old Portobello links was enclosed with an iron railing by the surrounding feuars (who had in some way acquired a right over the ground), the hills and hollows in its surface were levelled, and the whole converted into a garden. In one corner of it, we remember well, there was a luxuriant clump of furze or whins, whose rich golden bloom in summer gave picturesqueness to the spot, and among which a few rabbits found a rather insecure refuge.

But "the march of improvement" (so called) has ruthlessly swept away even this, the last remnant of the Figgate Whins, and the ground deserted by man or child, was given over to the pasturing of sheep!

Since the amalgamation of the town with the city the grounds have been re-planted with shrubs, and tastefully laid out by the Town Council, and are, we are glad to say, once more free to the use of the public.

CHAPTER XXI.

ROYAL VISITS AND VISITORS.

THE proximity of Portobello to the Capital has naturally led to the locality being at various times identified with Royalty; while its fine level sands have frequently been the scene of Military spectacles of an imposing character, in which members of the Royal Family have taken a part.

We have seen that in olden times Portobello formed a portion of the royal forest or hunting ground of our Scottish Kings, that its sands were the scene of a military council held by Oliver Cromwell and the chiefs of the Scottish Royal army; and that Prince Charles Edward with his army of Highlanders, when encamped at the southern end of the parish in the neighbourhood of Duddingston Loch in 1745, must have been familiar with its level shore and pure waters.

After the Union of the two Kingdoms, Scotland was doomed to a long period of Royal neglect. Many causes conspired to bring this about. The seat of Government once removed to London, Scotland became a mere province, and its capital a country town. Travelling was difficult and expensive, and although many Scotsmen found their way south, and established themselves and became prosperous in England, comparatively few Englishmen found it worth their while to venture to Scotland with any such hope in their minds. The country was poor, capital was scarce, and her agriculture and manufactures languished. The independence and pride of her people indeed seemed to have brought down upon them a kind of vindictive feeling on the part of the British Government of the latter part of last century, which sought to chastise their pride and to subdue their spirit. This period was emphatically "the dark age" of Scotland, during which its energies slumbered; and it appeared to the world, not so much an integral part of the British Empire as one of its most inert and unwilling appendages. Towards the forming of this.

spirit, there is no doubt that the two rebellions of 1715 and 1745, in which the Scottish people contributed so prominent a part in support of the claims of their ancient line of kings, had much to do. It is beyond doubt that the Scotch were obnoxious to both the great political parties into which the English nation had long been divided. The one party, inheriting the resentments and antipathies of the old Cavaliers, were pleased to consider the Scots as a nation speculatively Republican in their politics, and in religion gloomy and intolerant bigots. The other party, again, viewed the Scots only through the medium of events which had endangered the Hanoverian succession. In their minds, the heroic, though criminal enterprise of some of the Highland clans to restore the Stuarts to the throne of Britain, impressed the character of Jacobitism upon the whole nation, and hence it is not at all wonderful that the country should have been subject to imputations and reproaches both inconsistent and contradictory.

During the reign of the first three Georges, this feeling was very marked. None of these Sovereigns had ever set foot on its soil, and, indeed since the unfortunate days of Charles II., the Scottish people had remained ungladdened by a sight of their king. He was to them a far-off invisible power.

The accession of George IV. forms an epoch in Scottish history. Moved by the literary reputation of which at the beginning of the century Edinburgh was the centre—the king expressed a strong desire to visit the northern part of his dominions, to see for himself the land of romance which Scott, in his *Waverley*, *Guy Mannering*, and *Heart of Midlothian*, had made famous to the world. Sir Walter himself had visited the King, and been an honoured guest of His Majesty at Windsor and London on more than one occasion during the Regency. His influence had much to do in bringing about a visit of the King to Scotland, which he saw would do much to further a more friendly feeling towards Scotland and Scotsmen, and identify them more than they had been with the Empire. To him also fell in a great measure the arrangements connected with the Royal visit. He was, as Lockhart says, the "stage manager;" for the local magistrates, bewildered and perplexed with the rush of novelty, threw themselves on him for advice and direction about the merest trifles; and he had to arrange everything from the ordering of a procession, to the cut of a button and the embroidering of a cross.

State etiquette, to which the Scotch officials of the time were entire strangers, had to be learned, and who so fit to put them through the necessary drill as the author of *Waverley?*

The King arrived in the Firth of Forth in the Royal Yacht—the Royal George—on 14th August 1822, attended by several war vessels, which cast anchor in Leith Roads. The landing owing to the inclemency of the weather, was deferred. But in the course of the day Sir Walter Scott visited the King on board the yacht, receiving from him a right hearty reception—"the man in Scotland I most wish to see," being his words when Scott was ushered into his presence.

Among the many pageants which signalized the King's visit to Scotland, perhaps none evoked so much popular enthusiasm as the great Military Review on Portobello Sands on Friday 23rd August. "The day," we are told, "was excellent for the purpose, cool and calm, and free from dust. From an early hour in the morning every avenue leading to the sands showed a stream of people pouring down seawards. All the roads leading from Edinburgh were for several hours crowded so much that every person was obliged to move along with the stream without power of going faster or slower, the middle of the road being specially crowded with cavalry and infantry, and the equipages of the nobility and gentry, all moving in the same direction."

From the narrative of an eye-witness we learn that "there was an enormous number of carriages ranged along the sands, while the crowd on foot was immense." A gentleman who had been ten years resident in London, and had often seen reviews of a far greater number of troops, declared he had never seen anything like the vast assemblage of spectators. All exhibited the greatest good humour, and while multitudes of them were accommodated on the wheels, the back, and even the top of the carriages, many were also mounted on scaffoldings erected for the purpose on the verge of the sands. Numerous vessels too, of various sizes, filled with company, sailed backwards and forwards near the shore, to survey the scene from different points of view.

The review was principally one of the "Volunteer Yeomanry Cavalry of the Lowland Districts," and it is added that "a finer body of men, better equipped and mounted, or under the same disadvantages, better disciplined, never before passed under the

view of His Majesty." But beside these there was a large gathering of the Highland clans under their respective chiefs.

From a contemporary account we learn that "the approach of of His Majesty was announced by hoisting the Royal standard on the quay at Portobello." About twenty minutes past one o'clock His Majesty with his suite arrived on the field in a close carriage drawn by four horses, accompanied by the Duke of Dorset, Lord Graves, Lord F. Conyngham, and Sir A. Barnard, when he "was hailed by the loud acclamations of the assembled multitude, and a Royal salute was immediately fired from the battery established on the pier (or harbour green), the colours lowered to the ground, and the pipers playing the Prince's welcome."

Upon alighting from his carriage (in what is now called the King's Road, which leads from the cross roads to the beach at the western extremity of Portobello) the King was received by the Marquis of Lothian, Lord-Lieutenant of the County. The King, as soon as he alighted, mounted a fine light grey horse; and being joined by Sir Thomas Bradford and his staff, proceeded from the right, along the front of the line, guarded by a detachment of the Greys, and returned from the left, between the front and rear ranks, in open order.

After passing His Majesty, each column rode off at quick time; after which the whole again took up their original ground, and formed into line. The troops then closed their ranks, and advancing in line to within fifty yards of His Majesty, they halted and gave a general salute, the bands playing "God save the King," after which His Majesty expressed his highest satisfaction with the general appearance, discipline, and steadiness of the various corps.*

The King shortly afterwards dismounted, and stood for some minutes surveying the immense number of spectators on the heights, whose repeated cheering he again acknowledged. As he was proceeding from the left between the ranks of the cavalry, so great was the crowd of spectators, that on an order being given to the cavalry picquet which kept the ground clear around the Highlanders, to remove, a general rush was made, and in a moment, carriages, carts, and other vehicles, together with a vast concourse of people, completely shut out the Duke of Argyle and his men

* For further curious details in reference to the forces, and the various commanders, see *Narrative of a Visit to Scotland, by George IV. in 1822.*

from the Review. Lords Gwydir and Glenorchy, and the officers of the Celts, indignant at their exclusion from the Review, made a strong representation to the Duke of Argyle on the subject, who despatched Dr Mackintosh to represent the circumstance to any of the Scottish nobility he could reach in the royal cavalcade. When His Majesty was made aware of the awkward position of matters he expressed his desire to see the Highlanders march past. The Duke of Argyle then counter-marched the whole line, and formed them into open column; His Majesty, afterwards, calling Lord Fife, told his Lordship that he had experienced the greatest satisfaction at seeing so many brave Highlanders, and expressed his admiration of their steady and soldier-like appearance. He was heard to say to the Duke of Dorset that he never was at a review with which he was more delighted with the discipline and military bearing of the troops. His Majesty afterwards returned in his open carriage with his attendants to Dalkeith House.

Thus concluded what has been described as the "grandest military spectacle ever before witnessed in Scotland in modern times; and beyond comparison the most interesting." It is supposed there could not be fewer than 50,000 spectators present on foot, and the ground besides was covered with at least a thousand equipages, many of them of the most splendid description.

Besides the noblemen and gentlemen comprising His Majesty's suite there were present the Dukes of Hamilton, Montrose, Atholl, and Argyle; the Marquis of Lothian, Earls of Wemyss, Hopetoun, Mansfield, Rosslyn, and Kinnoull; Lords Arbuthnot, Belhaven, Blantyre, Douglas, Lynedoch, Ravensworth, G. Beresford, Arch. Hamilton, Robert Kerr, Binning, Alderman, Sir William Curtis, as well as many other gentlemen of rank and distinction.

In the evening the village of Portobello was brilliantly illuminated, a great variety of devices and transparencies being displayed.

It is due to the loyalty of the Magistrates of Musselburgh to mention that, having heard late on Thursday evening that His Majesty (who was residing in Dalkeith with the Duke of Buccleuch) intended passing through Musselburgh in his ride to the review at Portobello, they, "early on Friday morning, employed a number of workmen to erect a triumphal arch across one of the streets through which it was thought he would pass, which when completed had a very magnificent effect." The Magistrates,

with white rods in their hands, drew up in a body about midday, close to the arch, on each side of the street, supported by the trade corporations with their various flags and insignia of office. Thousands of spectators were assembled, and waited patiently for His Majesty. In this state they remained till the firing of the guns from Portobello sands, when, having learned that His Majesty had taken a different route, they quietly separated, no doubt much disappointed.

Had Portobello been at that time in the enjoyment of a municipal government, with Provost and Bailies, we should likely have heard something of a dutiful and loyal address being presented by them to their King on so auspicious an occasion; but alas, it was the day of small things, it was only a "village," without local government, and no local dignitaries were there, waiting (like those of Musselburgh) "with white rods in their hands," the approach of His Majesty! But what of that? The people were there in strength—all ranks and classes mingling together in loyal devotion to King and country, and no Peer among them with lordly equipage so proud of the sight, as one poor cobbler with his little boy perched on his shoulder, and keenly enquiring "which is the King, father?" "Look, Sandy! look," said he, "that's him there wi' the cocket hat on the muckle grey horse."

Since that eventful day in the annals of Portobello many changes have occurred. Few but "Sandy" who were eye-witnesses of the scene now survive. The "Quay," from which proudly floated the Royal Standard, and the "harbour," whence thundered the boom of the artillery, have been utterly swept away, "leaving not a wrack behind." But the village has become a town, and a burgh, nay, has become a part of the Metropolis, and were a similar opportunity to arise, we doubt not its patriotic loyalty would not fail on such an occasion to find adequate expression.

In more recent times Portobello has been visited frequently by Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, though these visits have not taken any official or formal character, but only a drive through the town on occasions when she happened to be residing at Holyrood. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is better acquainted with the locality, for in 1860, when a student in Edinburgh, under the tuition of Dr Leonhard Schmitz, Rector of the

High School, he was a frequent visitor, coming down nearly every morning with his equery to bathe in the sea, one of old John Smith's bathing coaches being specially fitted up and reserved for His Royal Highness, a fair haired, rather modest looking young man, dressed in a grey suit, with soft felt hat. His appearance on the beach even in this plain guise, created no little flutter, especially among the fair sex in those days. It was at Portobello he acquired the first rudiments of his military training, for at that time he was occasionally also in the habit immediately after his bath, of drilling on the beach with the 16th Lancers then stationed at Piershill. Though these bathing visits of the Prince were necessarily of a private nature, and were made in the most unostentatious of equipages, viz., a common street cab, he was not unfrequently subjected to well-meant but misplaced attentions. One gentleman—a Town Councillor—residing close by on the beach, conceived it to be incumbent upon him in virtue of his office to receive and keep watch and ward over the movements of His Royal Highness while within the burgh. It was generally supposed that the self-imposed surveillance of this gentleman in looking after the safety of the heir to the British throne would have some day been rewarded with the dignity of "Companion of the Bath;" but for some reason or other, which has never been explained, the well-earned honour was not conferred!

Another well known but rather forward young man, evidently under the impression that in a state of nature, and in *aqua pura*, one man is as good as another, and that the sea brings all ranks and classes to a common level, happened one morning to be bathing from the coach next to that of the Prince. Seizing the golden opportunity, of thus, without the formality of introduction or otherwise, making the acquaintance of Royalty, he plunged into the water, and boldly siding up to the Prince as he was swimming about, enquired in a lisping voice if "Hith Royal Highneth wath enjoying hith dip to-day?" But the Prince very properly, and doubtless very much to his disappointment, made no reply, but simply gave the questioner the cold shoulder, and proceeded with his ablutions!

In 1876 the Duke of Connaught was honoured with a public entry and reception on the occasion of his passing through Portobello with his regiment on his way to Piershill from the south. The High Street was gaily decorated with flags and floral devices;

the inhabitants turned out in great numbers to give the young Prince a hearty welcome, and the Magistrates, and Councillors were in waiting at the Town Hall to present him with an address; but unfortunately, through some misunderstanding, and His Royal Highness not being aware of the honour in store for him, the order to halt was not given, and the address being unread, was simply presented by Bailie Hunter, who was acting in the temporary absence from town of Provost Wood. It was afterwards suitably acknowledged from the Barracks, and a few days after, the Duke by special arrangement, attended a musical promenade on the Pier with the officers and band of his regiment, when the Magistrates and Council of the Burgh, with Provost Wood at their head, were honoured by being presented to His Royal Highness.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE FREE MASON LODGE.

THE political and municipal life of Portobello at the beginning of the century was still a long way off, and a matter of the distant future. We have consequently no public records throwing light upon the life and activity of the place until well into the middle of the century. Whatever therefore gives us an insight into the life of the inhabitants during this period is of value as illustrating their history.

The minutes of the Masonic Lodge of Portobello supply us with material in a very full form, so that without divulging the secrets of the craft, we hope to reproduce from them a picture of the town, and the men who at the beginning of the century bought from and sold to one another, and carried on its business affairs.

The Portobello Lodge of Free Masons originated at a meeting of members of the craft belonging chiefly to Edinburgh and Musselburgh Lodges, but resident in Portobello. It was held on 31st June 1808, and was convened by James L. King, one of the merchants of the town, and James Newlands, the postmaster. At the meeting a resolution was passed to the effect "that it would be very beneficial to the brethren residing in Portobello were a Lodge established in the village, as from the inconvenient distance of any Lodge, the brethren here are in great measure shut out from becoming useful to the craft, and deprived of the pleasure of participating in the harmony, sociality, and fraternal intercourse of Masonic meetings." From this it would appear that from want of ready communication with the city, the villagers were not much addicted to going from home, but were rather inclined to keep to their own fire sides in the evening.

The meeting accordingly resolved to petition the Grand Lodge of Scotland, stating the inconvenience to which they as Masons were subjected, and praying for a charter "to enable them to establish a Lodge in the village."

The following gentlemen were elected office-bearers, viz. :— James King, master; James Newlands, senior warden; Alex. Dickson, deputy master; James Newton, sub-master. Along with several of the brethren, they were appointed to conduct the erection of the intended Lodge. Messrs King and Newlands presented the petition on 1st August at a quarterly meeting of the Grand Lodge, when "it was unanimously granted, and a dispensation was passed authorising the office-bearers named to establish a Lodge of Free Masons at Portobello under the title of the Portobello Lodge; to take precedence and rank on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Scotland from the 1st day of August 1808, and of the Era of Masonry 5808, with power to make and adopt bye-laws, &c."

A considerable number of Free Masons joined the Lodge at the beginning, and a number of young men came forward to be initiated, so that when it was formally constituted on 4th August, the association formed a strong body.

During the summer of 1808, Portobello, if it could not boast of having a church, strangely enough had a theatre established within its bounds. This it appears was a wooden erection put up by a company of strolling actors in Tower Street, for the entertainment of the villagers and summer visitors.

Several of the actors happened to be Free Masons, and as such had ingratiated themselves with the members of the newly formed Lodge. Thus we find that an invitation having been given to the members to attend a performance for their benefit in the theatre, the Lodge agreed to do so, "on account of the harmony which the brethren of the theatre had added, and were likely to add to the meetings of the Lodge." A good deal of conviviality characterized its proceedings. Thus on 4th August after the following gentlemen had been initiated members, viz., James Baxter, builder, afterwards Provost of the burgh; James Cargill (Mr Jameson's son-in-law), John Napier, Mr Mein, Charles Guthrie, David Craick, and William Stevenson, and the elevation of John Hepburn and Mr Mein "to the sublime degree of Master Masons," "the Lodge thereafter adjourned to the Black Bull Inn to spend the evening." This Inn stood on the south side of the High Street close to the bridge at the west end, and in what was then the Lodge room may still be seen painted on the walls the insignia of the Order, and several large landscape views not without merit.

The first public demonstration in the form of a procession made by the Lodge, took place on the 23rd August 1808, in response to the invitation from the manager of the theatre, which is thus described:—"The Lodge being opened in due form, the R. W. Master, office-bearers, and brethren attended by a band of music, proceeded in procession from the Lodge Room to the theatre, to witness the performance of the following entertainments—viz., 'Heir at Law,' and the farce, 'All the World a Stage,' with singing and instrumental music, and various other entertainments under the patronage of the Lodge. The performance went off with great *eclat* in presence of a numerous and brilliant audience. After the performance the brethren returned in procession by torchlight to the Lodge, where they were dismissed with a blessing!"

But the operations of the Lodge were not confined to the locality. The members took a warm interest in all national and metropolitan events.

On 8th September the foundation stone of the new Edinburgh Jail on the Calton Hill was laid with masonic honours, and the Portobello Lodge was called upon to take its part in the proceedings. Being their first public appearance in such a ceremonial, the secretary with great enthusiasm enters into full particulars to the extent of no less than five large pages of his minute book.

"Upon the return of the procession," we are told, "the Portobello Lodge, being at that time the Junior Lodge of Scotland, walked first, the other Lodges following in their order, returning to College Square, where they were dismissed."

The Portobello Lodge returned to Kingston's Tavern, where the members dined together. Here they received a deputation from Edinburgh St Stephen's Lodge, the master of which "expressed his great happiness at the numerous, respectable, and splendid manner in which the Lodge 'Portobello' had made its first appearance in public." Mr James Newlands, in replying to this gentleman's compliments, expressed their thanks for his attention in honouring them with a deputation on this their first public appearance.

Towards the end of October arrangements had been so far completed for beginning the work of building the Portobello Chapel, the first Ecclesiastical Edifice in the village, that it was resolved the foundation stone should be laid with masonic honours.

This was thought a fitting opportunity of having the infant Lodge formally installed by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and accordingly the two ceremonies were made the occasion of a great demonstration, which took place on the 27th October.

The "theatre," being the only building at the time in the village capable of accommodating a large gathering, appears to have been used on several occasions by the Free Masons, and so we find that the initial proceedings of the day, in connection with laying the foundation stone of the church, took place in the theatre, the Drama and Religion not for the first time going "hand in glove."

The description of the ceremony has been given with great fulness in the records. The brethren of the lodge, as we have said, having assembled in the theatre, after the transaction of some routine business, and having been joined by the lodges of Edinburgh and other places, marched in processional order, headed by a band of music, to Adelphi Place, where Mr Jameson had suitably fitted up a room adjoining his house for the ceremonial of installation of the office-bearers of the new lodge.

Here the Grand Lodge of Scotland met, under the presidency of the Right Worshipful the Substitute Grand Master, William Inglis, Esq., and proceeded to the Ceremony of Installation, "which was performed with the greatest propriety and solemnity," the Lodge being dedicated "to the Holy St John."

These preliminaries having been completed, the brethren of the various lodges were marshalled according to seniority, and set off in procession to the site of the new chapel, where the usual formalities having been gone through, and the foundation stone being duly laid, Mr Jameson in name of the committee and of subscribers thanked the Sub-Grand Master and his brethren for their attendance.

One or two anthems having been sung, the procession was reformed, and in inverted order—the Lodge of Portobello in front, and the Grand Lodge in the rear—returned to Adelphi Place, where the Grand Lodge was formally closed. In the evening the members of the various Lodges, preceded by a band of music, marched to Wilson's Park, where, we are told, a place had been fitted up, "for accommodating them at dinner, which Mr Moir of Musselburgh served up in a very elegant manner. The evening was spent in the greatest conviviality and happiness; and the

brethren having enjoyed the pleasure of listening to many able vocal performers, as well as the performance of the Military Band attending, were at the regular hour dismissed with the usual ceremonies."

It may interest some to know that the "Mr Moir of Musselburgh," referred to as having purveyed the Masonic banquet on this occasion was a hotel-keeper there, and father of the celebrated Dr Moir who, under the sobriquet of "Delta," was afterwards a distinguished poet, and author of the well-known *Mansie Waugh*. "Delta" himself, at this time, was only a lad of ten years old, and is not likely to have been present at the procession or dinner, but the prototype of his celebrated story figured in both; "Mansie Waugh," it is said, being no other than "Brother Peacock," the Bible-bearer in the Masonic procession, who was at the time a respectable, if somewhat eccentric, tradesman in Musselburgh.

At the first annual meeting of the Lodge, on 27th December 1808, the following gentlemen were elected office-bearers:—James L. King, re-elected R.W. Master; James Newlands, Senior Warden; Thomas Morton, Junior Warden; William Jameson, Past Master.

On 10th January 1809 "William Douglas, joiner, was admitted a member, entered apprentice." He would at this time be a young man of about nineteen or twenty, but he rose afterwards to be Master of the Lodge, and when the Municipality was formed a quarter of a century later he was elected a Councillor and afterwards a Bailie of the burgh. He will be remembered by old residents as the senior partner of the firm of Douglas & Smart, one of the most genial, pawky, and humorous auctioneers who ever wielded a hammer. His portrait adorns the Council Chamber, now the Public Reading Room of Portobello.

On the 1st of August 1809, the first anniversary of the Lodge was celebrated by a convivial gathering at which representatives from a number of sister lodges were present, and congratulations upon the success that had attended the first year of its existence were abundantly expressed. The Secretary, in his usual full and gushing way, tells us that "many eloquent toasts and appropriate sentiments were given on the occasion;" while "the evening was spent with the greatest decorum and happiness, and at high twelve the Lodge was shut in due form."

The celebration of the jubilee of George III. was the occasion of a general outburst of loyal feeling throughout the country. And so, on the 25th October 1809, the good people of Portobello seemed to have vied with their neighbours in giving expression to their joy. The day was kept as a holiday by all classes. "At seven o'clock," we are told, "this joyful morning was announced to the inhabitants by the band engaged by the Lodge playing through the village." At eight—an early start—the Right Worshipful Master, office-bearers and brethren set off in procession from Portobello to the Naval Yard, Leith, where they joined the Most Worshipful Grand Master, office-bearers and brethren of the Grand Lodge, and the lodges of Edinburgh, Leith, and neighbourhood "to assist in laying the foundation of the Military Works to be named King George the Third's Bastion."

This demonstration, which was taken part in by the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh and other local dignitaries, seems to have been of a very imposing nature. The procession is described as one of the most splendid and magnificent, and was more numerously attended than perhaps any ever seen in Scotland. The Earl of Moira, at that time Commander of the Forces in Scotland, and residing at Duddingston House, officiated at the ceremony as Past Acting Grand Master in the absence of the Hon. Mr Maule of Panmure.

"Portobello Lodge headed the procession," and with their fresh new aprons, sashes, banners, and regalia, seem to have made a brave show. At the conclusion of the proceedings, the Lodge returned to Portobello on foot, preceded by their band; and after walking in procession through the village "they returned to their Lodge Room, where the whole sat down to dinner, and aftewards spent the afternoon with great harmony and conviviality."

Conviviality was not however the Lodge's only virtue. Kind assistance to the destitute is frequently referred to as engrossing their attention, and so about this time a friendly society was formed for the purpose of assisting its members in times of sickness and death.

The Lodge seems to have been supported by all classes of the community, by the gentry as well as the artizans and tradesmen; and notwithstanding the fact that some of the apprentices had difficulty in paying up the rather heavy entrance fee, and their

bills were consequently lying unpaid to the extent of about £35 or so, the affairs of the Lodge, as reported by the then treasurer at the close of its second year, showed a balance on the right side of £8 15s 11d. The membership numbered no less than one hundred and thirty-three in August 1810, of whom 84 were apprentices, or new entrants into the mysteries of the craft.

It is rather curious to find that in addition to the members residing in Portobello, a number of seamen, shipwrights, and several natives of Denmark were initiated to membership about this time. Possibly these were seamen of the small craft coming into Portobello harbour with white or china clay for the Potteries, or for bricks, tiles, &c., for Norway or Denmark.

At the annual meeting in December following, few changes were made in the management, except that William Douglas was appointed secretary; James Newlands, depute master; and James Thomson, sub-master. In the following year Mr Newlands, who was really the leading spirit of the Lodge, and who had done so much to further its prosperity, was induced to accept the position of R.W. Master, after having declined the honour on several occasions, and John Smith, builder, was elected junior warden. During Mr Newlands' term of office the minutes are distinguished by their fulness of detail, and the prominent position the Lodge assumed among other Lodges of the craft. This was no doubt due to the high intellectual standing and the business ability of its Master. He was a fluent public speaker at a time when such a qualification was less common than it is now, and his services were frequently in demand.

A happy, jovial, merry company the Portobello Masons undoubtedly were; and one may be sure that in the absence of any Town Council or other local body to manage the affairs of the little community, matters affecting the welfare of the village would at their meetings be thoroughly discussed over the ale and toddy. The following, extracted from the minutes of 17th September 1812, is a good specimen of the spirit with which the Free Masons of Portobello in those days met each other and their neighbours:—

"At the monthly meeting a large number of brethren from other Lodges visited Portobello Lodge." "The meeting was most respectably and very numerously attended, and the different brethren at the head of deputations in very elegant and appropriate speeches, complimented in high

terms the respectable appearance of the Lodge, and the ability of the various office bearers. On this first meeting of the season the Right Worshipful Master took the occasion to express the very high sense he and his brethren entertained for the respectful attention on that and numerous other occasions of brother William Jameson (usually styled the Father of Portobello), and in returning their thanks for such attention, the R.W. Master reminded the brethren that they enjoyed the company, not only of the oldest Freemason in Scotland, but in all probability, the OLDEST MASON IN THE WORLD, an honour which he hoped they would long enjoy. Brother Jameson in a neat and sensible speech returned thanks for the attention and good wishes of the brethren, and expressed the happiness he felt whenever it was in his power to meet them. Many eloquent speeches were delivered and many excellent songs sung during the evening, which was spent in the genuine spirit of masonic happiness."

Again, at the festival of St Andrew, celebrated on 19th November 1812, by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, in the Freemasons' Hall, then in Niddrie's Wynd, Edinburgh, at which Viscount Duncan, son of the hero of Camperdown, was elected Grand Master, we find the master of the Portobello Lodge called upon to take a prominent part. The occasion was a brilliant one, but Mr Newlands was equal to the occasion. In his speech "he congratulated his Lordship and the craft at large, upon the unanimous election which had taken place, which he said had added so much of the talent and respectability of the country to the Grand Lodge, in the different noblemen and gentlemen who had been called to fill the respective offices; that while the nations around were groaning under the most abject tyranny, or struggling for life and liberty against the usurpation of a great military despotism, it was only in this our happy isle the craft could assemble under the patronage of the great and good, and could enjoy the most distinguished of their privileges in associating with the Councillors of our Sovereign, and the most distinguished of our fellow subjects."

In the celebration of the festival of St Andrew on 30th November 1813, more than usual demonstration was made in the city. There was an immense turn-out of the craft; a procession of no less than 1200 Freemasons, attended by bands of music, and guarded by three regiments of infantry, going from the Parliament House to the Masonic Hall by torchlight. This brilliant gathering was presided over by Viscount Duncan. In this demonstration the Portobello Lodge took no insignificant part, their numbers

and the quality of their regalia making them a conspicuous feature in the procession. But pride goes before a fall, and the Masons returned home in high indignation, to comfort themselves in their own Lodge Room after the exertions of the day, with the R. W. Master's "blessing" over their home brew. Owing to want of space in the Mason's Hall, the junior Lodges, including Portobello, were unavoidably excluded from the meeting, a circumstance which gave great umbrage to the honest Portobellonians, who resented the affront by refusing on the following year to take any part in the Festival!

Shortly after this the Lodge was called upon to engage in a demonstration of another and sadder kind, consequent upon the death of Mr William Jameson, who had been so long identified with the rise and prosperity of the village. This took place at his residence, Rosefield House, on 12th November 1813. In the city he was well known, but by none was he more sincerely mourned than by the good people of the village he had half a century before begun to plant on the lands of the Figgate.

Mr Jameson, having for many years been connected with the fraternity of Free Masons, the Portobello Lodge held a solemn funeral meeting in their Lodge room on the 16th December following, to do honour to his memory—Mr James Newlands, the Grand Master, presiding. From the minutes we extract some particulars of the proceedings, and a portion of the Chairman's laudatory speech. "The Lodge room and tables were hung with black; the rods, batons, &c., were mounted with crape, and the whole of the brethren were dressed in deep mourning. A select band of singers attended, who sung a number of solemn hymns and anthems. . . . After each of which suitable moral sentiments were given from the chair."

Mr Newlands said:—

"In assembling you together on the present solemn occasion, I feel extremely gratified at having it in my power thus to afford you an opportunity of testifying your respect to the memory of our departed brother. And I feel no less gratified at seeing the present meeting composed of many who were his old and intimate friends, and who consequently can best appreciate his character, and the loss we have sustained by his death.

"Born of respectable parents, Mr Jameson was early trained to the profession followed by his father, namely, that of an architect and builder.

In 1786 the Incorporation of St Mary's Chapel elected him one of their Deacons, an honour to which he was three times afterwards re-elected, and he was for two successive years Deacon Convener of the Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh; circumstances altogether unexampled in the records of that Incorporation, as never having been so conferred on any other individual. He was a member of the Committee for erecting the South Bridge, and of many Committees of a similar nature. He was altogether for the uncommon period of thirty-four years a member of the Council of the City of Edinburgh. While he thus held a share in the government of the Scottish metropolis, many of those improvements so highly ornamental to the city, and so conducive to the comfort and convenience of the inhabitants were projected. The latter part of his life was in a great measure devoted to the improvement of the village of Portobello which he had raised, as he had for many years retired from the Council of Edinburgh as well as from the active duties of his profession.

"Mr Jameson was at a very early age married to a sister of Sir William Nicolson of Tillicoultry, Bart., a woman of the most amiable manners, and the most charitable disposition, whose benevolence will be long remembered by the poor of the neighbourhood, to whom she was the earliest and best friend. Society was deprived of her virtuous example in 1800. In 1810 Mr Jameson was married to a second wife, who with a son and four daughters of his first marriage (all married) live to deplore his loss. On Friday the 12th November last he gently breathed his last after four days illness. He had attended divine service in the Chapel (Melville Street) on the Sunday preceding. His death has made a blank in the society of this village which will not be easily filled up. In him every public institution has lost a friend, and every charitable object a benefactor. A subscription has been entered into for erecting a public monument to his memory; perhaps the most suitable monument he can receive will be the village his industry and public spirit has raised, and to be styled the FATHER of which was the most pleasing title he could receive while living.

"In public life Mr Jameson was distinguished by his probity, public spirit, and consistency, but particularly for a degree of sagacity and quickness of perception which enabled him to foresee events in their most distant relations; while the soundness of his judgment enabled him to provide for their consequences.

"The urbanity of his manners and cheerful disposition eminently qualified him to perform with fidelity the various duties of husband, father, and friend; his social qualities and playful fancy, even the infirmities of old age could not destroy.

"As a brother of the fraternity I have now the honour to address—of which he was for sixty-four years a distinguished ornament, and of which he was looked upon as the oldest member in the kingdom—his conduct was particularly exemplary. His presence gave dignity to our meetings and his character and conduct shed a lustre on the principles and practice of our order. Often have we within these walls seen the natural benevolence

of his character shine with peculiar felicity, and often have we witnessed his mild benign countenance irradiated with the glory of Patriotism."

To such a eulogium we can add nothing. It is doubtless all true and well merited. Fortunately his portrait has been preserved to us by John Kay in whose celebrated *Edinburgh Portraits* it appears along with two other Edinburgh worthies, superintending the causeways of the High Street of the city. Our illustration is a reproduction from Kay's plate. Mr Jameson was succeeded by his only surviving son, William Jameson, W.S., Edinburgh; a gentleman who by his connection as agent, with one of the most remarkable criminal trials of the time, to which we have already referred, and his attacks on the Judges of the Court of Session, attained a temporary celebrity, for which, we are told, "he smarted pretty severely—perhaps more so than the case required."



"THE FATHER OF PORTOBELLO."

At the annual meeting of the Lodge on 27th December 1813, there was a large attendance of members—about 43 being present, when Mr Thomas Morton was elected R. W. Master in room of Mr Newlands.

The new master, who had come to Portobello some years before this to act as Mr Jameson's clerk, was his successor in the brick and tile works, carrying on the work in Pipe Street, when he was joined in partnership by Mr Neil, an enterprising builder in Edinburgh.

Mr Morton, however, by and by devoted more of his attention to trafficking in liquor than to making bricks. He carried on a large wine and spirit trade for a number of years in premises (now demolished) at the top of Pipe Street facing the High Street. In the rear of the shop and underground he built an extensive range of vaults for storing ale and spirits. In addition to the shop at the top of

Pipe Street, he opened spacious premises on the High Street, at the foot of Brighton Place, as a wine and spirit merchant and general grocer. "He was a man," we are told, "of a speculative and unsettled turn of mind, and, as often happens with this class of individuals, he was not very successful in his undertakings. Latterly he went to London with the view of prosecuting there a trade in Edinburgh ale, but not meeting with the success which he anticipated, he returned to Edinburgh, where he carried on business in Hunter's Square."

During the years of 1814 and 1815 the Lodge was in an exceptionally flourishing condition, many new members being added to the roll. The members of the band of the cavalry regiment then stationed at Piershill Barracks—the 6th Dragoons—being at that time in the habit of attending the Lodge meetings. For their kindness in performing to the Lodge nine or ten of them were admitted to its privileges free of charge.

At the December annual meeting there were no less than seventy members present, a strong testimony to the popularity of the institution in Portobello.

In the autumn of the following year the Lodge took part with the Grand Lodge of Scotland in laying the foundation stones of the Regent's Bridge and the New Jail of Edinburgh. The ceremonial connected with these took place on the same day, viz., the 17th September 1815.

"The Portobello Lodge having assembled at an early hour, and the office-bearers being clothed in new and elegant clothing provided for the occasion, they set off in procession for Edinburgh, preceded by a military band of music." The various Lodges assembled in Parliament Square, and at twelve o'clock the Grand Lodge was opened in due form in the High Church aisle. Being joined by the Lord Provost, Magistrates, Parliamentary Commissioners, and other dignitaries, with bands and military, "a procession, the most brilliant which ever adorned the annals of Masonry," moved on towards Waterloo Place, by way of High Street, North Bridge, Leith Street, and Low Calton. The Masonic ceremonies were performed by the Grand Master, James, Earl of Fife, to whom the Lord Provost, Sir John Marjoribanks, returned thanks.

At the conclusion of the proceedings, Portobello Lodge set off from Parliament Square for Portobello—presumably on foot—pre-

ceded by their band. Arrived at the Lodge Room, the members found "an *elegant* dinner" waiting them, and, as the way had been long, and the weather not altogether favourable, we may be sure they did ample justice to the good things set before them. The minute concludes by stating that "the *elegant* decorations of the various Lodges have perhaps seldom been exceeded on any occasion of the kind; and it must be remarked that the opinion seemed general that for numbers, respectability of appearance, and neatness of decoration, this Lodge was exceeded by none of the bodies present." As a parenthesis we may ask our readers to note how the word "elegant" as one of the words of the day, is frequently used, just as we now have "first-class," "up-to-date," "fast,," and "*fin de siecle.*"

In those days Masonic ceremonial was frequently combined with military pageantry. Thus at the festival of St Andrew, celebrated in Edinburgh by the Grand Lodge on 30th November 1815, at which Portobello Lodge took part, we find it narrated that "they joined the Grand Lodge and other Lodges in Parliament Square, when the whole set off in procession by torch light for the Freemasons' Hall. . . . The streets were lined with mounted Dragoons, within which were a line of Infantry carrying the Flambeaux. The whole had a very fine effect."

At the annual election of office-bearers on 27th December of this year, much interest was shown in the affairs of the Lodge. There were sixty-four members present, and several new names were brought forward for office. James Marshall, plumber and lead-pipe manufacturer (whose works were at the foot of Bellfield Lane, afterwards Scott's Baths), was elected R. W. Master. Captain James Tait, R.N., senior warden; Richard Paterson, tailor and clothier, junior warden; Thomas Morton, brick maker, past master; James Newlands, depute master; Robert Kerr, surgeon, sub-master; Thomas Rathbone, potter, treasurer; Thomas Proudfoot, baker, secretary. The rank and file of the Lodge included all the principal tradesmen of the village at that date, the names of some of whose descendants are still to be found in our Portobello directory. In addition to these the following are mentioned as honorary members—The Right Hon. Lord Elibank, then residing in Richmond Lodge, now Windsor Lodge; Colin M'Kenzie, Esq., of Kilroy; Captain Allan M'Lean,

of Coll (whose widow afterwards survived to the long age of 105 years), and others of rank and position in the village.

The conclusion of the Peninsular War by the decisive victory of Waterloo had brought many soldiers home, and on all hands officers and privates were fêted wherever they happened to be stationed. Thus on 18th April 1816 we have a notice of four musicians of the gallant 42nd, or Royal Highland Regiment of Infantry being "entered apprentices free of expense, upon the condition that they should attend and perform at the meetings of the Lodge while they remained in this quarter, and when regimental or other necessary duty did not prevent their attendance; each night's performance to be reckoned equal to 5s of the entry money paid, until the whole be paid up."

The band became a necessary adjunct of the Lodge, and added considerably to its popularity as an evening resort. It is frequently referred to in the minutes, thus :—"The Brethren were much gratified by the performance of that same band which cheered on the overpowering charges of our countrymen on the glorious field of Waterloo; and at the usual hour were dismissed much pleased with the entertainment of the evening." At this meeting James M'Donald, "the oldest soldier in the gallant 42nd regiment, who had distinguished himself in Egypt, Spain, and France, and more recently in the dreadful conflicts of Quatre Bras and Waterloo," was toasted and fêted "amid the loudest plaudits of the numerous brethren present."

The Lodge had now removed from the "Black Bull," and had premises situated at the top of Tower Street, entering by the first passage on the west side. It was a large room, reached by an outside stair from the back court, and was rented from Mr Newlands, but in order to accommodate the growing numbers, various improvements were now found to be necessary.

The room was re-furnished with new tables and canopies in Red Durant. Nor were the meetings without the creature comforts necessary for the replenishment of the inner man. The Masons fared well, as we are repeatedly reminded by the worthy Secretary. The usual refreshments supplied were pies, with ale, porter, or toddy, the allowance generally being a bottle of toddy (cold) for every two members. But some little difficulty appears to have been experienced as to supplying the liquor and meeting the expenses, for on the Treasurer stating "that at last meeting

of the lodge, several members instead of paying the usual charge had only paid for the liquor used by them, by which means they did not contribute their proportion for lighting the room and other expenses; the Committee unanimously resolved that in future the Treasurer shall issue tickets to every member at the rate fixed upon; two bottles of ale or porter being considered equal to one bottle of toddy!"

The only alteration made on the list of office-bearers in December 1816, was the substitution of Alexander Lord Elibank, as Past Master, for Thomas Morton, who ceased after this to take an active part in the affairs of the Lodge.

Sometimes the entry fees for apprentices were paid for by services rendered to the Lodge, as the following instances among many will show:—26th November 1816—"J. Copeland and George Robertson were entered apprentices, they engaging to serve as Stewards to the Lodge for one year as compensation for their fees." 19th February 1818—"John Thom and Donald M'Donald, tile makers, were entered apprentices with the usual solemnities, the amount to be defrayed by their performance on the violin at the Lodge meetings." 13th April 1818—"Peter Rattray, printer, was entered an apprentice mason of the Lodge; the amount of his entry to be taken in printing." 17th October 1820—"Three musicians wished to be entered, and offered to play as a band of musick at the meetings for one year in lieu of entry fees. This was agreed to, provided they were satisfied they are qualified to form a band of themselves to play at the lodge meetings, and give security to that effect." It was agreed to take them in as members at next meeting, "for no other fee but their toddy and pyes."

Law abiding and loyal to the last degree, the fraternity seldom meddled with politics, but for all that the "Reform" agitation of these days occasionally disturbed the peace and harmony of even the Masonic Lodge. Thus we find that in 1820 the equanimity of the R. W. Master, James L. King, was upset by receipt of a communication from the Justice of Peace office, ordering a return of the names and designations of the members, "certified upon oath before a Justice of the Peace, and bearing that the Lodge is held for the purpose of Masonry alone, and that nothing detrimental to Church and State is transacted therein." This order was in conformity with the Act of Parliament 39, George III.,

chapter 78, passed for the suppression of societies, established for seditious purposes and treasonable practices, which was mainly directed against the Chartist movement.

The honest loyalty of Mr King's soul was, however, roused against the seeming imputation this summons conveyed, and we are told "he instantly waited upon Brother Newlands, and took his opinion of the subject, as the case rather appeared to him something novel, to doubt in the smallest degree the loyalty of the craft." . . . "But, by the help of Mr Newlands, his doubts on the subject were soon cleared away, and it now appears that instead of any doubts being entertained of the loyalty of the brethren, it was on the other hand to give them every protection when they met in due Masonic form, and to prevent any of the evil disposed meeting in the name of Masons to carry on their diabolic schemes against Church and State." The order was accordingly complied with, and the Right Worshipful Master drank his toddy in peace!

At the meeting where the above is recorded, mention is made of the presentation of a silver snuff box to George Wallace, their treasurer, as a mark of their approbation of his conduct for the many times he had filled the office; "the box being filled, was handed round, and they all snuffed out of it!" blowing their noses with honest satisfaction that they and their Mason "King" were alike loyal to King and country!

The secretary at this time—a Mr A. Goulan—seems to have been somewhat of a wag. Some of his minutes are as amusing as they were probably accurate. Thus, at the annual meeting on 27th December of this year, called the Festival of St John, when Mr J. L. King was re-elected R. W. Master, the proceedings were of a very convivial nature. The Lodge having assembled in the house of Bro. G. Wallace in Pipe Street, "and being fully clothed in the regalia," formed a procession through the village with torches, preceded by a band of music.

After going as far as Pitt Street they returned to the Lodge Room, where some Masonic business having been transacted, "the office-bearers again, at the request of the R. W. Master, put on their proper clothing, and the ammunition being ordered, they began to fire away in very regular order. The Lodge was opened by a song from Brother Clough, and a band of music being in attendance they were ordered in, and then began a very pleasant

evening, which may it always be the lot of the brethren of this Lodge, and every other well-governed Lodge, to enjoy." . . . "After a truly well spent Masonic night the brethren at high twelve were dismissed with a blessing."

In the following year—1821—a large number of new entrants were recorded. Among others we have the names of Allan Livingston, brick and tile maker; Henry Scott, shoemaker; Samuel Rathbone, son of Thomas Rathbone of the pottery; and other well known Portobello names.

Mr Newlands was again elected R. W. Master in room of Mr King; while Mr Thomas Kirk, joiner and house factor, took Mr William Douglas' place as treasurer; and Mr M'Naughton was appointed sub-master.

Both Mr King and Mr M'Naughton died shortly after; when William Douglas was chosen depute-master, and Thomas Rathbone, past master, 12th June 1822.

This year was made memorable in Edinburgh and neighbourhood by the visit of George IV. shortly after his accession to the Throne. For months before preparations had been set on foot to make the reception of the Sovereign worthy of the Capital of Scotland. The Portobello Lodge on 20th June, "took into their most serious consideration the great condescension of his Majesty in going to pay Scotland a visit, and at the same time to lay the foundation stone of the National Monument." . . . "And considering that they were bound in honour to do all in their power to appear as braw as possible, resolved to have a new regalia, silver stars, new sashes, etc., and authorised the treasurer to purchase new lace and velvet for the purpose, and to engage a band."

On the 27th August there was a great demonstration by the Grand Lodge assisted by many of the local lodges on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the National Monument on the Calton Hill. The Portobello Lodge were in strong force, headed by a band, and joined in the procession with the Grand Lodge at Parliament Square, and afterwards, on their return to the village, dined together at Wilkie's King's Arms, spending the evening in a truly Masonic manner. "At high twelve," as we are told by the secretary, "the R. W. Master had some trouble to persuade himself that it was time for us to flit. But although sitting in the midst of pleasures that are to be found nowhere else but in the

assemblies of the brethren, he was obliged to give in, though with great reluctance. He did it, however, so truly masonically, that no one could find fault; he then announced that it was high twelve, and that we must part; but with one wee drap that was left, he gave us, 'Happy to meet, sorry to part, but happy to meet again!' The lodge was then with all due solemnity closed, and the brethren dismissed with a blessing."

Who could say after this that the Free Masons of Portobello were not Loyal, Methodical, and Convivial?

In a previous chapter we have given an account of the King's visit to Portobello Sands on the occasion of the great Review, in which, of course, the Masonic Lodge took no part except as deeply interested spectators. Various meetings of a highly convivial nature are recorded, but it is needless to refer to these in detail. The humour of the Secretary shines through them all. The utmost cordiality and good feeling seems to have existed among the members, and the good of the whole was the aim of each. Thus we find, "Brother Cellars made an offer and desired that it might be noted in the minutes and made known to the Brethren of the Lodge, that he at all times would be happy to do all that lay in his power for the comfort of the Brethren of the Lodge, and so long as he was Tacksman of the Baths, that he would at all times accommodate any of them with a warm bath free of all expense." The office-bearers in 1823 were—Mr John Wilkie, R. W. Master; Mr William Douglas, deputy master; Mr Allan Livingstone, sub-master; Mr J. Smith, senior warden; Mr William Fox, bookseller, junior warden; Mr William Hewat, grocer, treasurer; and Mr A. Goulan, secretary.

It was about this time—probably in 1823—that the Baths were leased to Mr Henry Scott by the Directors at a yearly rent of £200. Scott, who was a shoemaker to trade, had during the Peninsular War been pressed into His Majesty's service, and had served for a number of years in a militia regiment. At the peace of 1815 he was discharged, and coming to Portobello with his wife and young family, he resumed his trade as shoemaker in a small cottage, where the Municipal Buildings have since been erected. Here with the assistance of his industrious wife, Mary Thomson, whose spinning wheel kept time with the shoemaker's awl, he brought up his family frugally and well, and here some of them were born. In 1823 the Directors of the Baths advertised for

offers, and Henry Scott, thinking he might do better at this than at shoemaking, resolved to make an offer for one year on trial.

Writing material was not so plentiful in those days as now, nor was his caligraphy perhaps so elegant as it might have been. As a matter of fact the offer, which was £200 per annum, was written on a very small slip of paper. Before sending it in, however, the worthy shoemaker resolved to consult a friend, and taking his offer to the watchmaker of the village—a Mr Lithgow—he put the paper into his hand and asked his opinion. The watchmaker put on his spectacles, read it over, folded it up, and handing it back, said—"Henry, ye'r sure to get it." "How," said Henry, "do ye think that?" "Man," said Lithgow, "ye'r sure to be accepted by the Directors, for they'll see ye'r an economist!"

His offer *was* accepted. And with the kind assistance of friends he soon had the place well furnished. At the flitting of his own effects to the baths, as the story goes, Scott's brother Andrew was giving a hand. Happening to pick up his sister-in-law's spinning wheel, and there being little room in the cart for it, he without any hesitation began breaking it piece by piece over his knee, saying, in spite of her remonstrances, she would have something else to do at the baths than mind her spinning wheel.

Mr Scott succeeded so well in his management of the Baths, that at the end of the lease the Directors, thinking he was making a fortune, and would not readily leave so lucrative a place, raised his rent to £300. This he refused, and removed in 1830 to start hot water baths at Bellfield near to the foot of Melville Street. The premises had been used for a number of years as the plumber shop of Mr William Marshall, but Scott had them fitted up, if not with elegance, at all events with comfort, and for many years down to about 1860 Scott's Baths were a favourite and well-known resort of visitors to Portobello. On his death in 1844 the business was successfully carried on by his widow, who never saw reason to regret the breaking of her spinning wheel.

Of their large family several have figured prominently in the municipal life of the town, Mr Henry Scott, builder, being some time a bailie; Mr Alexander Scott, several times councillor, and master of the Mason Lodge for about twenty years; while Mr Robert Scott, the oldest of the family, was for the long period of

forty-seven years connected with the Established Church as treasurer and secretary to the managers, was Inspector of Poor for the parish, and treasurer to the town; enjoying to the last the confidence and respect of his fellow townsmen. Being a keen antiquary, he had made a considerable collection of local objects of interest, which adorned his office, and drew from an old admiring lady visitor the exclamation one day as she looked round upon his busts, old armour, and other curios—"Eh, Mr Scott, ye have a great many iniquities here!" Two of the sketch maps illustrating this work are taken from Mr Scott's collection. He died in 1885, on his eightieth birthday.

In 1824, Mr Wilkie, "having removed from the village," resigned the mastership, which was conferred upon Mr Douglas. About this period a great deal of speculative building was going on in Portobello, no less than 400 masons being employed in the place. In addition to Melville Street and Pitt Street, the Marquis of Abercorn projected three new streets eastward on his ground to be named after himself, viz. :—John Street, James Street, and Hamilton Street (his Lordship's name being John James Hamilton). Mr James Baxter was busy with the erection of Brighton Place and Crescents; while along the shore, in Windsor Place, Bath Street, Regent Street, and on the High Street, many villas and houses were being erected.

For the increasing population additional church accommodation was required. In 1824 a spacious building for the Secession Church was begun in Regent Street, capable of holding originally about 1000 sitters; and about the same time a small chapel was erected for the Wesleyan Methodists at the foot of Tower Street —many of the glass blowers who had come from England to start the Glass Works being Methodists. The Episcopalians, who included at that time the upper society of the place, composed largely of retired naval and military officers, had a chapel in Brighton Place; but owing to some dispute in the congregation, many had left and formed a separate body. For this new congregation Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Halyburton built out of his own private means the Chapel of St Mark's in 1828, giving them the use of it for a nominal rent.

In the spring of 1825 a scheme for the erection of public markets was started, and various other operations were going on, including the building of new Assembly Rooms by Mr Rice

Forsyth at the top of Bath Street—now the Royal Hotel—adding greatly to the beauty and importance of the place, which was beginning to assume more the character of a town than a village; its population being now over 2000 inhabitants.

In reference to these operations the following minute of the Mason Lodge throws some light:—2nd May 1825—"The committee proceeded to take into consideration a report that had been spread about the village anent a procession that was to take place at the laying of the foundation stone of an English chapel at the east end of the village; and after some very mature deliberation it was unanimously agreed that there should be no procession at this time. It was noticed by our worthy Preses that in all probability the public markets that are to be built in the village for the good of all would not be long of being begun, and he had no objections in that case that the Lodge should gratify the inhabitants by making arrangements with the Committee of Management of said markets to have a public procession. The committee before separating gave instructions to the R. W. Master and Secretary that should the Committee of Management of the Chapel wait upon them to solicit the favour of the Lodge to walk in procession, to return them the following answer:—"That the Committee of the Lodge when met were of opinion that as the Episcopalians were at variance amongst themselves, it would be improper for the Lodge to interfere in the affair at all, as it might be the means of committing the Lodge in the eyes of the public, more particularly as the Lodge gave no countenance to the other chapels now erecting in the village." No application appears to have been made, and so St Mark's Chapel was not "favoured" with Masonic patronage any more than any of the other religious bodies!

During his term of office Mr Douglas appears to have been highly popular, for a large number of new entrants are recorded, and many meetings were held for initiation. At the annual meeting in December he was unanimously re-elected Master.

In the following five years there is little of importance recorded, bearing upon the history of the town or its inhabitants, beyond the ordinary routine business of the Lodge. In 1826 Mr Douglas resigned and was succeeded by Mr Fox, as R. W. Master. In 1827 the facetious Secretary also resigned, and under his successor, George Currie, the minutes are not so effusive as formerly. Mr

Robert Smail was chosen Master in 1828, and was followed in 1829 by Mr Henry Thielcke; Mr Mowbray Stenhouse, being Substitute Master. In 1830 Dr William Vallange, afterwards Provost of the town, was admitted a member and was appointed chaplain. Mr Thielcke seems to have given little attention to the affairs of the Lodge, and a spirit of apathy had crept into its management; but a return of the old office-bearers brought back the old enthusiasm. In 1830 Mr Newlands was unanimously asked by the brethren "to fill the chair which he had filled so often with honour to himself and usefulness to the Lodge," and having accepted the honour he made choice of the following to assist him in the management:—William Douglas, deputy master; William Hewat, sub-master; John Howden, senior warden; Thomas Smith, jnnior warden; William Guthrie and Robert Brown, deacons; Samuel Rathbone, treasurer; James Hunter, chaplain; and Alexander Goulan, secretary.

On the 15th June 1832 arrangements were made for joining in a demonstration connected with the laying of the foundation stone of the National Reform Monument. No record has been preserved of the ceremonial, but it is to be noticed that after this period there is a great falling off in the attendance and interest of the members,—a circumstance probably to be accounted for in the awakened interest of the people in political and municipal affairs by the passing of the Reform Act. The passing of this Act, with the consequent raising of Portobello to the rank of a Parliamentary Burgh, marked the beginning of a fresh epoch in its history.

The subsequent transactions of the Lodge are not of much public importance. Up to this point its proceedings are the only exponent we have of the public life of Portobello. A new order of things is now about to be created. The unofficial is to give place to the official and responsible. Provost and Bailies take the place of Right Worshipful Masters and Wardens.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PORTOBELLO AS A BURGH—ITS MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

THE agitation for Parliamentary and Municipal Reform which was brought to a successful issue in 1833 under William IV., began a new era in the history of Portobello. Hitherto there had been no local authority, no resident Magistracy for the punishment of offenders, no local police force, no provision for lighting the streets, or supplying water to the inhabitants, for it was not till a year or two afterwards that the Musselburgh Gas Light Company extended their pipes to Portobello. Oil or candles only were therefore in use. Each householder did what he thought best for his individual protection and comfort. Bolts, bars, and watch dogs kept him in fancied security. A private oil lamp over his gateway, and a well in his back garden, supplied the requisite light and water for his family's use, and for these privileges he enjoyed the unspeakable bliss of immunity from local taxation. With this state of affairs many were content; but among the more intelligent portion of the community the absence of a local authority had been long felt. The lack of conveniences which only combination can adequately supply to a population which now numbered 3270 souls, spurred them on in their efforts to secure for the town not only a local Magistracy and Council, but a recognition by the Legislature of their Parliamentary privileges.

As early as 1821, when the City of Edinburgh had a new Police Act before Parliament, a memorial signed by nearly all the resident proprietors of Portobello, was presented to the Lord Provost, praying that the proposed Act should be extended so as to include Portobello, because, among other reasons, "the only Magistrates whose jurisdiction extends over Portobello are the Sheriffs, and His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County, and it is evidently impossible that these Magistrates can secure the safety of the inhabitants and their properties."

That some of the old characteristics of the Figgate Whins still lingered in the locality at this time appears to be only too true, for the petition goes on to explain that "Portobello is a receptacle for those persons who have been banished by the Judges of the Police Courts of Edinburgh beyond its bounds, and who make daily attacks upon the persons of the inhabitants, and depredations on their properties." No wonder that the memorialists of 1821 should conclude by expressing their conviction that the Judges and Superintendent of Police for Edinburgh should be vested with a jurisdiction over Portobello, and the hope that under such a plan as they proposed, "not only would the evils which had been long felt be almost removed, and the greatest benefits result to Portobello, but Edinburgh itself," they said, "would derive important advantages from it." The proposal was not, however, responded to by Edinburgh, and the village of Portobello was left to work out for itself a local autonomy which in course of time developed among its inhabitants a remarkable amount of public spirit and power of self-government.

With a population in 1821 of only 1912, it may be easily imagined matters were much worse when in 1833 the population of Portobello had increased to upwards of 3000 residents, with an additional summer population of "not less than 2000." So bad was the state of matters in regard to Police supervision that we find the *Scotsman* newspaper of 13th August 1831 publishing the following paragraph :—"The road from Edinburgh to Portobello seems destined at no distant period to become as celebrated as Hounslow Heath or Gad's Hill unless some active measures are resorted to by the public authorities for its security. On a former occasion we hinted at the necessity of establishing a mounted patrol in the district as the only method to ensure the lives and property of the inhabitants from pillage and murder. Scarcely a week passes but we have to communicate the perpetration of some outrage, and have now to announce that on Wednesday night a gentleman was attacked between Jock's Lodge and Portobello by two furious ruffians, who after a violent struggle stabbed him severely, though we are glad to say not dangerously."

Portobello was erected into a Parliamentary Burgh under the Act William IV. Cap. 77, passed in August 1833. It had in the previous session of Parliament been grouped with Leith and Musselburgh in the privilege of returning a member to Parliament,

the qualification being restricted to proprietors and tenants of houses of £10 yearly rent. The Act of 1833 provided that from and after the first Tuesday in November following, the several towns mentioned having no Town Council or Magistrates, should proceed to the election of persons to fill these offices.

In accordance with this, the Sheriff-Depute of Edinburgh—Mr Adam Duff—along with the Sheriff-Clerk Depute—Mr James Boog—met within Forsyth's Rooms, on the 5th November 1833, to proceed with the election of Councillors for the Burgh, nine being the number prescribed in the Act. There being no Town Hall or other suitable building in the place, the polling was conducted in the principal hotel. The business was not, however, allowed to go on without interruption, for the following extraordinary protest was lodged in the hands of the Clerk of Court by "James Baxter, Esq., residing in and one of the electors of Portobello, who appeared and protested against any proceedings taking place for the election of Magistrates for the town of Portobello, and that he held all those who might be chosen, and who should accept of the office of Councillors as liable in all damages and expenses arising from said election," signed by James Baxter, and by the following who adhered to the protest, viz. :—Robert Kerr, John Baxter, Robert Douglas, J. B. Roach, and J. A. M'Whirter. No reason is given for this step; the protest was laid aside, and the election (which in those days was by open voting) went on. Very few persons took part in the proceedings, and at four o'clock when the poll was closed, the Sheriff declared that the following gentlemen had by the votes of *fifteen* electors been chosen :—Captain Stevenson, R.N., 6 votes ; Mr Mowbray Stevenson, 11 ; William Vallange, M.D., 8 ; Mr David James Dickson, 9 ; Mr James Newlands, Post Office, 13 ; Mr William Douglas, Carpenter, 9 ; Captain A. Barclay, 9 ; Mr William Bailey, 12 ; Mr William Hewat, 6.

These having been duly notified of their election were summoned to appear in the same place—Forsyth's Rooms—on the 7th November to signify their acceptance. They all appeared, but the shadow of the protest had cast its withering influence over the new born Council. They all declined to accept office.

Another election was accordingly fixed by the Sheriff. The same formality was gone through on the 11th November, with the result that *thirty-six* signed lists were handed in, and the same in-

dividuals chosen, though, of course, with a slightly altered position in their order on the poll. As each of the thirty-six voters could put down nine names of parties he thought suitable, the extraordinary result was that no less than thirty-four names were nominated for office, while Mr Baxter and his co-protesters only received a few votes each. The following is the order in which the successful candidates were placed:—Mr David J. Dickson, 32; Mr James Newlands, 31; Mr William Bailey, 30; Mr William Douglas, 29; Dr Vallange, 28; Mr Mowbray Stevenson, 26; Mr William Hewat, 26; Mr Andrew Barclay, 24; Mr Thomas Proudfoot, 19.

On the 11th November these met with the Sheriff, and Mr Baxter and his friends having withdrawn their protest, they took the oath of allegiance. On the following day the new Council met to elect from among their number a Provost and Bailies. Mr David J. Dickson of Mount Charles, in virtue of his having the largest number of votes, was called to the chair, and all the members of Council were present. Mr Dickson and Mr William Bailey were both nominated for the Provostship, but the former gentleman "declining to be put in nomination for the office, a show of hands was taken in favour of Mr Bailey, and the Chairman declared him duly elected Provost of the Burgh." Captain Andrew Barclay and Mr James Newlands were then proposed for first and second Bailie, which was unanimously approved. The Sheriff and Deputy Sheriff Clerk having completed the duties prescribed by the Act, withdrew from the meeting, and Mr James Newlands was requested to draw up the minutes until a clerk was appointed.

In December following, Mr John Buchan Brodie, W.S., was elected Town Clerk "on the understanding that in the present circumstances of the Burgh his services in that capacity should be given gratuitously; at least, that he should have no claim upon the Magistrates and Council collectively or individually for any remuneration." Messrs William and Matthew Smellie, writers, Leith, were on like terms appointed joint procurators-fiscal for the burgh, these officials undertaking to do all the duties of their offices for any legally exigible fees they might receive.

Mr William Bailey, the first Provost of Portobello, was one of the leading manufacturers of the town, and a man of sterling worth and honour. Coming to Portobello a few years before this from Newcastle, he had taken up the works at the head of the

Fishwives' Causeway, long known as the chemical works carried on by Mr Arkley, and which from the fact that admittance to strangers was strictly forbidden, were frequently called "Arkley's secret works." Mr Bailey purchased the works, and converted them into a manufactory of flint glass ware; and afterwards built the commodious residence adjoining, which he named Baileyfield. For a time a large trade was done in cut crystal and flint glass—tumblers, glasses, decanters, and all sorts of household articles being manufactured. Increasing competition by manufacturers in Edinburgh and Leith led Mr Bailey after a time to reduce the output of glass-ware and to start the manufacture of bottles. The latter proved to be the more remunerative of the two, and ultimately altogether superseded the former. Mr Bailey was the first chairman of the Portobello Gas-Light Company, formed in the year 1851, and did much to promote measures for improving the amenity of his adopted town.



THE FIRST PROVOST OF PORTOBELLO.
1833-36 AND 1846-48.

Captain Andrew Barclay, the Senior Bailie, had long been resident in Portobello. He was a retired sea captain, and had married a daughter of William Creelman, one of the early brickmakers of the place. Of the Junior Bailie—Mr Newlands—enough has already been said to enable our readers to judge of his character and worth. He was indispensable, and Portobello was deeply indebted to his business capacity at this period of its history.

To secure premises for conducting the new municipal government of the town, Bailie Barclay, at his own expense, rented the

house, No. 1 Brighton Place, till Whitsunday, which was duly approved and authorised to be used for Council Room and Court Room, but the house not having suitable accommodation for a "lock up" and watch house, arrangements were made with the Market Committee, whose premises were in the High Street adjoining Mount Charles, and there a lock-up was improvised. The police force, if not large, had the advantage of unity, being concentrated in one individual, who acted as constable and burgh officer at a salary of £20 per annum! The first burgh officer was Alexander Mackay from Leith, who, on this modest allowance, faithfully performed his duties for a number of years as the only local guardian of the peace.

As no provision had been made in the Act of Parliament by which the Parliamentary Burghs were constituted, for the maintenance of their police establishments, a serious difficulty arose as to the "ways and means." The older Royal Burghs, as a rule, were possessed of a "Common Good," or a gift of land under their original charters, and by the General Police Act for Scotland had powers to assess for lighting, police, supply of water, &c.; but by some overlook Parliament neglected either to endow the new burghs or even to give their Councils the power to levy assessment. The omission having been noticed after the passing of the Burgh Act, but too late to be remedied in the same session, a Commission had been appointed to enquire into the matter. Pending their report, the Town Council of Portobello agreed that a voluntary subscription should be made to provide funds for carrying on their business. An effort was at the same time made to approach the Marquis of Abercorn, whose estate of Duddingston adjoined, and, indeed, formed a part of the burgh, to point out the peculiar position in which the new municipality was placed as regards the means of carrying on its affairs. His Lordship, however, who at the time was merely on a visit to Edinburgh, was so hurried, that the Council had no opportunity of conferring with him personally, and had to be content with a letter from Mr Guthrie Wright, his factor, in which he expresses "his interest in everything that relates to Portobello, and that it would always afford him the greatest satisfaction to do all in his power to promote its interests." We have no record, however, of this lost opportunity of doing "all in his power," ever being found again; and, if he ever had any good intentions towards the

struggling little burgh on the fringe of his estate, they were never realized.

Meanwhile an elaborate report drawn up by Mr Newlands was submitted to the Council on 13th January 1834, detailing the position of the burgh, and making suggestions for extricating it from the difficulty. In this report the estimated expenditure is put down at £112 per annum, and the suggestion is made to the Parliamentary Commissioners that a direct tax of 4d per pound on actual rental, one-half from landlord and one-half from tenant would be sufficient to cover this outlay—the rental at the time being £8350. An extension of the privilege enjoyed by Royal Burghs and Burghs of Regality to the Parliamentary towns in Scotland was strongly urged, as well as the establishment of a small-debt court in Portobello. A long correspondence ensued between the Council and the then Member of Parliament for Leith Burghs—Mr John A. Murray—afterwards Lord Murray—in reference to a Bill before Parliament to include Portobello, giving it such a court, but it was ultimately thrown out.

In April a memorial to the Commissioners was forwarded, urging the desirability of a General Police Act. It regrets the want of a "common good," and doubts as to Government being able to supply such a source of revenue; it states the improvement that is already observable in the condition of the town by the appointment of a local Magistracy; and it indicates that the great bulk of the resident population have testified their approval of a Magistracy in the place by putting their hands in their pockets and contributing voluntarily towards its support. Special mention is made of the resident population engaged in business in the town—"Six grocers, two bakers, three spirit dealers, three butchers, three house agents—two of them being builders and carpenters, one smith, one haberdasher, one teacher, one shoemaker, one tinsmith and hardware merchant, one bookseller and stationer, one builder, one painter, one apothecary, and four medical men." Besides these there were "one extensive glasswork, two potteries, three brickworks, one soap work, and one mustard manufactory, the labouring population attached to which was not less than 500 or 600."

That the necessity for having a resident Magistracy did not depend upon mere rumour or arbitrary opinion, is proved, the memorial says, by the result of the investigation undertaken

some time previous. The committee appointed to conduct it had the evidence taken on oath. "Between the end of October 1833 till 14th April 1834 the number of crimes committed within the Parliamentary boundaries of Portobello, exclusive of numerous instances of street brawls, nocturnal disturbances of the peace, and open and disgraceful desecration of the Sabbath day is above one hundred." Respectable people who would willingly have resided in the town were obliged to leave it in winter. It must not, of course, be understood that these were all cases against inhabitants of the town. The contiguity to Edinburgh and Leith, and its comparative immunity from police supervision, rendered the locality peculiarly liable to the depredations of outside marauders.

Bailie Newlands stated that in Brighton Place and adjoining district, which were watched and lighted at the expense of the residents and proprietors, "the houses can be let at a much higher rate than the other properties in the town, and are often occupied while the others are untenanted." But "the evils which in all cases a police extending over only a portion of a town have," he says, "been fearfully felt in Portobello; driven by the police officers from the district which is watched, offenders prey with more avidity on the other districts of the town, and there being no authority to enforce cleanliness in the neighbourhood occupied by the lower class of the community, joined to the fact that until the recent appointment of Magistrates, there was no check to their open licentiousness and profligacy, the respectable houses in such vicinity have in most instances become untenanted, and to such an extent has property in these situations become deteriorated, that houses which for many years were let at a rent of £40 per annum, cannot now obtain tenants although offered at a rent of from £12 to £15." "In those parts of the town which are more distant from the residence of the poor, and out of the district which is watched and lighted, but a very small number of the inhabitants venture to reside during the winter, although a great many express their wish to do so, provided they were afforded proper protection." The lighting at the best was a very poor affair. Brighton Place and Bath Street were provided with a few lamp posts or brackets, stuck up on the parapet wall and fastened to the iron railing. These were lighted with oil and wick lamps by the watchman, and generally burned themselves out. There were no other lamps throughout the town except here and there at

private doors. Even after the introduction of gas from Musselburgh in 1835, the cost of lighting Brighton Place and Bath Street was defrayed by a private subscription raised annually among the feuars; yet, Portobello was growing rapidly, and becoming every year more and more a fashionable place of resort.

The memorial of the Town Council was duly forwarded, and Lord Advocate Murray, M.P. for the Burghs, requested to support a measure that would give the town a local Small Debt Court, and the power of assessment for municipal purposes. At the same time a petition was sent from the Council to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland desiring to be allowed the same privilege as Royal Burghs of sending a lay representative or commissioner to that body. The petition was laid on the table of the Assembly of 1834, and although the request was not granted, a far larger measure of reform happened to be before the Assembly, and was that year passed, viz.—the Chapel of Ease Act, which raised the Portobello Chapel to the Ecclesiastical status of a Parish Church *quoad sacra*, with a right to a Kirk Session of its own. By this Act the minister of Portobello was entitled to be a member of the Presbytery with a right of sitting in rotation in the General Assembly. In September following, Earl Grey, on his resignation of office as Prime Minister, visited Edinburgh, on which occasion an address, expressive of the Council's admiration of his political principles and conduct, was presented to his Lordship by the Portobello Magistrates.

According to the Act, one-third of the Council—those lowest on the poll in November 1833—fell to retire from office at the end of their first year's tenure. These were Bailie Barclay, Mr Proudfoot, and Mr James Hewat. None of these gentlemen appear to have sought re-election, but there being no nomination of individuals, and it being the option of every voter to vote for any one he pleased, the following were found to have the largest number of votes:—James Baxter, builder; William Guthrie, brickmaker; and Thomas Kirk, house carpenter. In room of Bailie Barclay, who had acted as treasurer of the Voluntary Subscription Fund, Mr W. Guthrie was appointed treasurer, while Mr David J. Dickson was chosen to be first Bailie. During the year 1835 various questions—especially those in regard to roadways, the supply of water in the town, and the continued difficulty of

want of public funds—took up a large share of the attention of the Council.

Previous to 1834 there was no direct road to Duddingston. Passengers had either to go by way of Brunstane Road, or by way of the Fishwives' Causeway through the farm of Northfield. A footpath had come to be formed alongside the burn as a short cut; but though Brighton Place and the Crescents had been built there was no thoroughfare connecting the town with this footpath. Those taking it had to break through the fence and cross the deep ditch that formed the boundary where the railway now is. This had for a long time been a great inconvenience and a frequent cause of complaint. In 1833-34 the Road Trustees had so far met this by the construction of a new road from the junction of the Edinburgh and Leith Road by Southfield Tollbar to Duddingston, and which they afterwards continued from the toll-bar to Dalkeith by Niddrie. There still remained a distance of about 300 yards between the boundary of the town and the road at the toll-bar to complete the connection. This gap now formed a kind of "debatable ground." On the one hand the public insisted upon getting direct access to the Duddingston Road, and on the other hand the owner of Brighton Place—Mr Baxter—as persistently objected to Brighton Place being made a thoroughfare. Fences and other obstructions erected by him to prevent the public crossing this ground were broken down as soon as they were put up. After considerable agitation on the subject, the Council at length in January 1835 petitioned the Edinburgh County Road Trustees to acquire powers in a New Road Act, then before Parliament, to have the connection made between Duddingston Road and Brighton Place. At the same time they also petitioned to have a representative on the Road Trust, the only representatives of the whole parish at that time being the Marquis of Abercorn and Sir Robert Keith Dick, Bart., of Prestonfield, both of whom were non-resident.

The latter object was attained by the insertion of a clause in the Bill giving the Provost and Senior Bailie a seat in the Road Trust of the County. But the opening up of the road to Duddingston was not accomplished until after the construction of the North British Railway in 1846. So persistent was Mr Baxter in his opposition that the Road Trustees had actually gone the length of planning a new road from Musselburgh to Edinburgh which

they proposed should skirt the south back of East Brighton Crescent and pass below the railway at an oblique angle at the top of Brighton Place. With a view to the suggestion being carried out, the railway company built their bridge on the skew. The railway at this point has since been twice widened, but the original skew arch may still be seen sandwiched between the two new arches, a standing evidence of the dispute. Mr Baxter at length arranged with the company that they should pay him a sum of £1400 for right-of-way to the station and undertake to keep up Brighton Place in good repair in all time coming, and so the contemplated roadway was abandoned. Mr Baxter, on being afterwards twitted as a hard driver of a bargain, blandly admitted, "I may be a bit hard, but I'm very honest!"

The continuation of the street was afterward effected with the Duddingston Road as it now is in 1846.

The first movement made by the Council with a view to the introduction of a supply of water was in 1835, when a committee was appointed—consisting of Provost Bailey, Bailies Dickson and Newlands, Mr Baxter and Mr Douglas—to communicate with the Edinburgh Water Company. Nothing, however, came of the negotiations.

In March of the same year a long memorial was sent to the Government, in which the Council represented the anomalous position they were in, having had conferred on them all the powers competent to Magistrates of Royal Burghs without the necessary funds to carry these powers into effect. It was indicated that a sum of from £80 to £100 per annum would be sufficient to defray all the expenses of the municipal establishment, and the request was made that an annual grant of such a sum "be paid out of the revenue of the Crown lands of Scotland or other public sources as your Lordships may deem proper." It is needless to say that the Lords of the Treasury did not see their way to acquiesce in this modest proposal, having "no power by law to comply with the request." Matters were coming to a deadlock, for although the Town's Officer had waited upon the inhabitants with the subscription book, the result was not satisfactory, and there was a balance of £26 due to the Treasurer. The Council House, No. 1 Brighton Place, had accordingly to be given up as too expensive a luxury, and an arrangement made for the use of one or two rooms, as they were required, in what was then called

Forsyth's Rooms—now the Royal Hotel. Some difficulty was found in paying even the officer's small salary, while the Clerk, having none, insisted upon getting fees paid him for services at the Burgh Court. In these circumstances a call was made upon the members of Council to make good the deficiency, and a fresh appeal made to the inhabitants. The Corporation in fact was on the rocks as regards funds, and were practically helpless.

With a view to the better protection of the town, a staff of special constables was organised, numbering twenty-seven "respectable individuals in the place," among whom we may recognise such well-known names as William Fox, John Smith, Thos. Hepburn, Robert Scott, John Craigie, James Webster, Peter Spence, Henry Calder, William Drew, and Robert Sanderson. In November 1836, Provost W. Bailey and Bailie Newlands retired from office on the Council; and Mr James Baxter was elected Provost, with Mr Guthrie as Senior Bailie. During this and the following years the social and sanitary condition of the town engrossed much of the time and attention of the Council. The number of public-houses was much in excess of the ordinary requirements of the place, and the result was an amount of drunkenness and vice that called forth the energetic protest of the Kirk Session of the town, and an earnest appeal that the Magistrates would not only exercise a strict surveillance over the existing ale houses, but would withdraw a number of the licences from houses "where the most reckless dissipation is encourged by the receiving of *clothes* and other articles in exchange for whisky or any intoxicating drink."

In their reply the Provost and Magistrates expressed their regret that "in the present circumstances of the burgh they are unable to maintain a greater degree of surveillance over the conduct of the publicans," but while doing all they can to diminish the number of licences, they state that they have difficulty in refusing applications for certificates, particularly when supported by influential inhabitants, and, as an instance, mention a recent case which they refused, which was supported by two members of the Kirk Session!

Owing, no doubt, to the then defective drainage, and inadequate supply of fresh water, an outbreak of cholera took place this same year. A previous visitation in 1832 had, especially in the West

End, been attended with a heavy mortality, and again in Pipe Street and neighbourhood many deaths occurred.

In 1832 a considerable sum of money had been raised for the relief of the poor, and the directors of the Destitute and Sick Society had done much "to provide the poor of the place with nourishing food and clothing." A balance from that fund still lay in the Treasurer's hands which was, with fresh aid, applied to the relief of the suffering; and every precaution was taken to avert the spread of the plague. Large fires were burned nightly down the centre of several of the streets with a view to purify the air. An hospital was opened at Lower Joppa, and the dead were not allowed to be taken to the churchyard, but were interred in a field at the East End of Joppa nearly opposite the Salt-pans.

The winter of 1837-38 was one of much anxiety in Portobello as in other places. To add to the miseries of the working classes, trade was bad, and the various works were almost at a standstill. The Pottery was closed, the workers out of employment, and "many of them starving."

The accession of Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria to the throne in 1837 called forth many effusions of loyalty. On the 3rd July the members of Council severally took and subscribed the oath of allegiance and declaration of assurance to the young Queen. On the occasion of the Coronation, 28th June 1838, a display of fireworks was given on the Links. Again, in 1840, on her marriage to Prince Albert, the Council were much exercised as to the mode in which they could most fittingly celebrate that most auspicious event. An illumination had been proposed; but in consequence of a recommendation made by a large meeting of the inhabitants, that was departed from, and a subscription was opened to provide the poor of the town with a dinner.

In other matters of national rejoicing, Portobello has never been behind in testifying its loyalty. Thus in November 1840, in a dutiful address to the Queen, the congratulations of the Council were expressed on the birth of the Princess Royal; and again on the birth of the Prince of Wales, November 1841, addresses were sent to the Queen and Prince Albert, expressing the wish, that when in the fulness of time Providence should call the young Prince to the throne, he may also inherit Her Majesty's virtues, "live as fully in the affection of the people, and preserve for a

long succession the glory, happiness, and prosperity of the British Empire."

In July 1838, Mr J. B. Brodie, the Town Clerk, resigned his post, and in the following month Mr Alexander Paterson was appointed his successor. The work was certainly not heavy, if one may judge by the number of meetings held; for in January following we find there was so little business before the Council, it was resolved that "the ordinary monthly meeting should be held thereafter once every two months," with power given to the Provost and Magistrates to call a meeting at any time if necessary. At the election in November 1840 Provost Baxter and Bailie Guthrie both retired from office, and Mr David J. Dickson was chosen to fill the Provost's chair, the Bailies being Mr Thomson and Mr John Smith, builder. The former however, retired in the following year, when he was succeeded by Mr Fox, bookseller, who along with Mr Wm. Douglas and Mr James Scott, baker, had been returned by the electors. Among other changes we find Mr Henry Calder, grocer, who entered the Council in 1840, was appointed Treasurer of the Voluntary Subscription Fund. Mr Calder was an ardent Reformer, and on various occasions after his entry to the Council brought forward matters affecting not only the prosperity of the Burgh, but of the country at large. Thus, on the 8th February 1842, he made a proposal, which was agreed to, that a petition for the total repeal of the Corn Laws should be sent to the Houses of Lords and Commons.



BAILIE DOUGLAS.

The destitution and consequent agitation throughout the country caused by these protective duties were still existing in 1843,

and again on the proposal of Mr Calder, the Council petitioned that "the Corn Laws may be immediately and entirely abolished," on the ground that they "are opposed to every principle of justice and benevolence, because they obstruct the progress of religion and morality, and are in a lamentable degree the source of the present destitution, suffering, and disorder among the people."

Provost Dickson retired on the expiry of his term of office in November 1843, and there being four vacancies on the board in consequence of the resignation of Bailie Fox, the following were returned at the election:—Henry Scott, sen., Henry Calder, Dr Vallange, and Captain Thomas Fraser, R.N. Dr Vallange was chosen to be Provost, Mr William Douglas, Bailie, and Mr Calder was re-elected Treasurer. The meetings at this time were few, there being little of local importance to record, except the construction of the North British Railway. In March 1845 we find the Council remonstrating with the Company in regard to the shutting up of the Fishwives' Causeway—the old road to Edinburgh from the earliest times—which the Railway had cut across at the upper end, where it enters the turnpike road. Their opposition had the effect of causing the Railway Company to make a new road on the north side and parallel to the Railway; so that although there is only a small portion of the original road remaining—that between Baileyfield and the Railway at the arch leading through the fields to Northfield—the right-of-way has been preserved.

In the same year (1845) the Council sent a petition to the House of Commons complaining of the hardship to which the town was subjected under the Prisons Act in having to pay a larger proportion of taxation than was just. Formerly it went along with the County, but the Prisons Act apportioned the expense between the Burghs and Counties according to population, thereby throwing by far the greater proportion on the Burghs; thus Dalkeith, which was in the County, was only assessed one penny three farthings, whereas Portobello in that year was rated at 4d per £. It was strongly urged that the mode of allocation be altered and the assessment in future levied on all properties, rural and urban, according to their real value, and not according to population. So strong indeed was public opinion on the question, that a public meeting was held and a series of resolutions condemnatory of the system were passed, and a com-

mittee of the Magistrates was appointed to prosecute the matter. Little or no satisfaction was got however. Conferences with the Convention of Royal Burghs, letters of remonstrance to the Board, and memorials to the House of Commons, brought no relief. As the population increased, the tendency was to aggravate the inequality, and it was pointed out that even the adjoining burgh of Musselburgh with a larger population was being relieved at the expense of Portobello; the latter in 1845-46, being rated at £80 13s 9d for local prisons, while Musselburgh was only charged £67 9s 3d. Portobello, in fact, was going steadily up, while Musselburgh was coming steadily down! For the General and Local Prisons Fund the total sum required was now £174, involving a rise in the rate to 4½d per £.

In November 1845 Messrs John Grieve, coal proprietor; Thomas Craig, paper maker; and Henry Calder were returned to the Board. Bailie Douglas was appointed Senior Bailie; Mr Calder, Junior Bailie; and Mr Allan Livingston, jun., Treasurer. Shortly before this a committee of the Council had "at their own risk" incurred the expense of erecting a few lamp posts on the High Street—no doubt a much needed boon. But as yet the side streets were unblessed by anything of the kind, except what private parties might provide opposite their houses for their own protection; and so there being a small balance over from the year's assessment for prisons, the Council handed it over in payment of the debt incurred in the erection of these lamps. The amenity of the beach was at the same time beginning to attract the attention of the Council, as we find them resolving to put up printed notices prohibiting the laying of rubbish on the sands.

But perhaps the most important question taken up was that of the water-supply. Throughout the town there were some excellent springs of water. Nearly all the larger houses were provided with wells sunk in their gardens, and in the poorer neighbourhoods public wells had been provided. But the natural growth of the town had far outstripped the supply these afforded, and it was with great difficulty some parts got it at all. In these circumstances a motion was brought forward on 1st April 1846, by Bailie Douglas, and unanimously agreed to, petitioning Parliament in favour of the formation of a new company, to be called the Edinburgh and Leith Water Company with a view to securing for Portobello a copious supply.

This and another petition from the inhabitants was sent to Lord Advocate Rutherford, who presented them to the House. The Bill was passed in 1847, but it was not for several years afterwards that Portobello was in a position to benefit by the provisions of such a measure.

On the retirement of Dr William Vallange in 1846, ex-Provost Bailey was again elevated to the Provost's chair. The statutory monthly meetings were resumed, and frequent special meetings were found to be necessary. Mr Bailey belonged to the advanced party, and strove to make the place attractive and popular by public improvements, and to obtain for the muuicipality more extensive powers in managing its affairs. About this time there was considerable correspondence with Lord Advocate Rutherford as to the adoption of a Police Act then before the Commons, called Lock's Act. On the passing of this measure in 1847 the hopes of the Council seemed to have been raised. The Police and Municipal business was still carried on in an unsatisfactory way upon the slender income provided by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants, their Police Officer receiving only from £15 to £20 of salary, and the meetings of Council and Police Courts being still held in Forsyth's Rooms, or as they now came to be called "Storie's Rooms," for which a sum was paid, "according to the time they occupied them." But the prospect of this state of matters being altered, induced them on 8th November 1847 to "appoint Mr Douglas to look out for a place for an office" for the clerk, and a Council room.

As a result of the enquiries of a special committee into the powers and requirements of the New Police Act (10th and 11th Victoria, chap. 39), (known as the "Lock" Act) it was reported that in the event of the Act being adopted with the consent of the electors (*i.e.*, occupiers or owners of houses of £10 and upwards) the following sums would be required:—Police Staff—one sergeant and two constables, &c., £187 10s; Lighting—street lamps, £165 16s; cleaning, £57 16s; total, £411 2s; involving a rate of 10d per £ upon a rental of £10,000. But no account was made in this estimate of either paving or water. A public meeting of "occupiers" was held in March 1848 in "Storie's Rooms," where the whole matter appears to have been discussed in a very lively manner. So crowded was the room that an adjournment was made to the United Presbyterian Church, a few yards

further down Bath Street. Resolutions in favour of the adoption of the clauses mentioned of the Act were proposed by the Provost, Rev. George Deans, and Dr Vallange, but a counter motion by Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston that the meeting reject the adoption of the Act for the present, was, after an acrimonious discussion, declared carried by a slender majority of *two*. The party of progress demanded a poll. This extended over two days, during which every effort was made by the opposing partizans to secure a majority, but in consequence of the qualifications of many of the voters being called in question, and the numbers being very close, the Provost decided it was impossible for him to declare whether the Act or any part of it had been carried or not —particularly in regard to the lighting and cleaning clauses. All the minutes and documents in the case were sent to the Sheriff, who decided that "the Act had not been adopted."

By the "Lock" Act power was given, however, to the Council to levy assessment for the expenses of the municipal establishment, and in November 1848 the Council assessed all tenants, occupiers, and possessors of premises of £2 and upwards rental, at the rate of twopence per pound. But all the other provisions of the Act, so far as Portobello was concerned, were a dead letter. Thus after an exciting conflict, the efforts of the advanced progressive party to promote the prosperity of the town were signally defeated, the majority of the electors having evidently greater fear of taxation than expectation of any compensating advantages.

A considerable feeling of irritation displayed itself at the election in November following. Provost Bailey threw up his office, and Bailie Calder also retired. Those returned were Messrs John Grieve, Samuel Rathbone, W. A. Pringle, and Thomas Craig.

And now occurred a most extraordinary state of affairs. The Provostship actually went abegging. An office so frequently the subject of intrigue, and for which many men have struggled in vain, was vacant, and no one would have it! Several persons were proposed but declined to accept, then at length Mr John Grieve, in compliance with a general wish of the Council, took the office. Mr Thomas Craig was thereafter appointed Second Bailie, and Mr Rathbone, Treasurer. Mr Grieve only retained office for one year. He resigned in November 1849 on account of his leaving Portobello to reside at Tranent, where he had

extensive coal pits, and had started a large fire-clay work. Bailie Thomas Craig also resigned at the same time for a similar reason, viz., his removal to Airdrie.

It was during their tenure of office that a case of some importance affecting the amenity of the beach and the rights of the public was decided. As far back as 1842, Mr Alexander Smith, W.S., the proprietor of Melville House, fronting the beach, took it upon him to extend the area of his grounds by enclosing with a high wall a large slice of the sea beach within high water mark. Numerous complaints had been made against the encroachment, but the only public authority who could take up the question were helpless, from want of funds, to take the matter into Court. Sir William Rae, Lord Advocate for Scotland, in 1842, was a resident at the time in Portobello. Going along the beach one morning to get his usual bath, his Lordship found when he came to Melville Street, his way barred by Smith's high wall, against which the waves were dashing. On learning particulars of the case and the helplessness of the local authorities, he at once, on behalf of the Crown, raised an action in the Court of Session against Mr Smith, to have it declared that the wall was an encroachment upon the foreshore, and ought to be removed. The action was decided by the Court against Mr Smith in December 1846, and he was ordered to take down the wall. The case was thereupon appealed to the House of Lords, which in 1848 confirmed the decision.

Defeated a second time, Mr Smith made an effort to get the Council to consent to his reconstructing the wall on a line with the walls of the properties on the west side of his own, which it seems were farther out than those on the east side, in a line with which Mr Smith's wall formerly stood, but the Town Clerk replied that it was inadmissable, the Council having no right to consent to any encroachments on public property. Mr Marshall, the proprietor, on the west side who had also taken in a piece of the sands, was compelled to give it up likewise. It was fortunate that a man such as Sir William Rae took the stand he did for the public rights, otherwise these encroachments would in all likelihood have been multiplied, and the fine continuity of the beach irretrievably destroyed. Sir William unfortunately died towards the end of 1842 before the case was settled.

In September 1849, on the retirement of Mr Robert Walker, who for some years had acted as Collector of the Prison Assess-

ment, Mr Robert Scott was appointed in his place. Owing to the retirement of Provost Grieve in November, along with Bailies Douglas and Craig, there was no presiding Magistrate in office at the election, and we find the Sheriff (Andrew Jamieson) presided at the next two meetings, swearing in the Councillors that had been elected, until the election of a Provost. To this office Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston of Mount Lodge was unanimously called; while the Bailies elected were Messrs D. J. Dickson and Allan Livingstone. The question of the adoption of the Police Act was not allowed to sleep. The position of the Burgh imperatively demanded something being done in order to place the Magistrates in a position to properly govern and regulate its affairs, and to carry out improvements for the benefit of its inhabitants. In order to remove difficulties which had occurred in the operation of the "Lock" Act a Bill was brought before Parliament and passed, which is generally known as Lord Rutherford's Act, intituled "An Act to make more effectual provision for regulating the police of towns and populous places in Scotland, and for paving, draining, cleansing, lighting, and improving the same." (13 and 14 Victoria, chap. 33.) This most valuable Act repealed the "Lock" Act of 1837, and the still earlier Police Act of King William (3rd and 4th, chap. 46). In the passing of the Act the town of Portobello was deeply interested, and a good deal of correspondence in regard to its provisions passed between the Council and the Lord Advocate.

The question of a supply of water was one of urgent importance. The existing wells being so deficient in the necessary supply for the increasing population, that an actual water famine existed. A strong effort was, therefore, determined upon to remedy this state of things in the first place. It was found that under the Edinburgh Water Company's Act the town might participate in the Edinburgh supply if desired. A public meeting of the inhabitants took place on the 10th May 1850. At this meeting, presided over by Provost Johnston, a series of resolutions were passed, agreeing to send a memorial to the Water Company, requesting them to give Portobello a supply of water on the same terms as it was supplied to the inhabitants of Edinburgh. A committee was appointed with the Magistrates and Council to negotiate with the Water Company who at once acceded to the request of the committee, and during the summer months of 1850

the water pipes were laid all through the town. By January following the inhabitants had the satisfaction of an abundant supply of the purest "Crawley" water running into their houses.

The water question having been thus satisfactorily settled, the community's attention was once more turned to the adoption of the Police Act of Lord Rutherford, which had just been passed by Parliament. On the 17th October 1850 a public meeting of the inhabitants was held in the Wellington Street Schoolroom—then the largest hall in the town—to consider the adoption in whole or in part of this important measure. So convinced were they now of the necessity for the town being placed under such an Act, that the meeting was unanimous in its adoption. All the clauses, except the water clauses, and those regarding the jurisdiction of the Magistrates—which were not required in Portobello—were adopted, and a statement of the whole proceedings sent to the Sheriff for his confirmation. Through some technical informality, however, the resolution of the public meeting was overturned, and declared null and void, and the whole question was therefore sent back to be re-discussed and determined upon anew. In November it was finally settled, after another meeting in the Schoolroom; a motion by Bailie W. A. Pringle "that the Act be adopted," being carried against a counter motion by fifty-seven votes against thirty-six. Dr Vallange protested and demanded a poll, but the voters confirmed the resolution by 101 against 57. By this Act the municipality was placed in the position of now being able to carry out such fiscal duties and improvements as were necessary for the town, at the expense not of a few generous subscribers, but by an equitable contribution from every householder in the burgh.

CHAPTER XXIV.

TOWN COUNCIL AND COMMISSIONERS OF POLICE.

THE adoption of the Police Act in 1850 with the appointment of the Town Council as Commissioners of Police, gave a fresh impetus to the carrying out of many useful reforms in the administration of the affairs of the town, in its sanitary condition, in the preservation of its amenity as a health resort, and in the proper maintenance of law and order. The first Commissioners of Police were:—Lieutenant-Colonel James Johnston, Provost; David James Dickson, W. A. Pringle, Bailies; Messrs John Smith, John Tough, sen., Henry Scott, Smollet M. Eddington, William Arthur, and Dr Methven. Questions affecting the cleaning, lighting, and watching of the town, as well as pavements and roadways, water, etc., came under the cognisance of the new board, for which, of course, "ways and means" had to be provided. In December 1850 it was resolved to levy an assessment for these purposes, but on account of the Act not being adopted till 12th November previous, it was restricted to 7d per pound, or one-half what would have been required for the whole year. This was charged entirely upon occupiers upon a rental of £14,490.

The state of the High Street and the footpaths throughout the town was at this time very bad, and complaints were so frequent as to their condition, that some attempt was made to put them and the side streets into better repair. Additional policemen were provided, the ordinary staff of two being augmented by two supernumaries in summer, "as they may be required." A code of bathing bye-laws for the regulation of the keepers of bathing machines was passed, and approved by the Sheriff of the County, and a set of bye-laws in regard to cleansing and nuisances. The punishment of juvenile offenders by corporal chastisement also received the sanction of the Sheriff, in conformity with a resolution of the Magistrates. This was done with a view to put down wanton mischief, and the plundering of gardens, of which there

seems to have been a great deal in the burgh at the time. The instrument used was "a pair of long thick tawse." The number of stripes was in no case to exceed forty, "the tawse to be applied to the breech, and with such effect as to cause a repetition to be greatly dreaded!"—the operator to be one of the constables on duty appointed by the Superintendent, but previous to punishment it was provided that a surgeon should inspect the culprit to ascertain if he was capable of enduring it, and if so, the surgeon was "to attend and see that no amount of punishment is inflicted beyond what the delinquent can bear." Thus the Magistrates mingled mercy with justice!

Hitherto the Town Council had no suitable premises for the accommodation of the Clerk and for Council meetings. They still met in the Hotel, while the police establishment was in a



OLD COUNCIL CHAMBERS, ADELPHI PLACE.

house in the High Street, adjoining Inverey House. But in 1851 Rosefield House, the old residence of Mr William Jameson, the "father" of Portobello, which at the time was partly occupied as a school, was taken on lease for five years at a rent of £35 per annum.

In 1853 and 1854, Portobello, like many other places, was again visited by an epidemic of cholera. There were a few fatal cases; among others, one of the Town Council fell a victim to the plague. The unsatisfactory state of the drainage of the town, particularly in the neighbourhood of Pipe Street and Bridge Street, being brought before the Commissioners of Police by the Board of Health, it was replied by the Commissioners that the matter had for a length of time been under their serious consideration, but from the very complicated and unworkable nature of the Police Act with respect to drainage they regretted they had met with such serious difficulties that they had been unable as yet to overtake this matter. Other towns they said had experienced the same difficulties under the same Act. The drainage of the town was now felt to be a very serious problem. It was getting every day worse, and a satisfactory solution was imperatively demanded. With the rapid extension of the town there had unfortunately been no sufficient provision made for the drainage; cesspools were used in many of the streets, but in those near to the sea, the sewage was simply led down to the beach, where it was allowed to spread itself in ugly streams, sadly disfiguring the beauty of the sands and the purity of the water. At Pipe Street and Bridge Street the drainage was run into the old harbour, which had long years before become a ruin, and was not only a receptacle for dirty water, but a consequent source of danger to the health of the neighbourhood. The proprietors on being appealed to, refused to lay out any expense on what they said would be no advantage to them, and the Commissioners of Police felt themselves to be helpless in the matter.

At length in 1856, Lord Advocate Moncreiff, the Member of Parliament for Leith Burghs, having introduced into Parliament a Bill for the removal of nuisances, etc., the Town Council memoralised his Lordship in favour of the measure. In this document they represented "that, since the introduction of water by the Edinburgh Water Company, and the construction of water-closets in the dwelling houses consequent thereon, the sea beach has consequently become very obnoxious owing to the main drains discharging their contents near high-water mark, which on recession of the tide, leaves the beach overspread with loathsome and filthy matter, and is the cause of universal complaint. As the beach is so generally resorted to for the purposes of bathing and

recreation by thousands of the inhabitants of Edinburgh and its vicinity, and also for the exercising and reviewing of Her Majesty's troops, the memorialists feel they would not be discharging their duty to the public were they not to bring this subject to your Lordship's attention." The memorial goes on to suggest that a clause should be introduced into the Bill giving the Commissioners of Police power "to construct covered drains or lay pipes in continuation of the main drains debouching on the beach to low water mark if necessary, or to construct other works so as to preserve the beach in a clean state," with certain regulations as to construction and cost of repair.

This received Lord Moncreiff's favourable attention. Clauses were inserted in the measure, giving the desired powers, and it was passed into law in the same session. On the 11th September 1856, a copy of the Nuisance Removal Act was laid on the table of the Town Council, and there and then it was resolved "to go on with the drainage of the Burgh in conformity with the Act 13 and 14 Victoria, cap. 33; and 16 and 20 Victoria, cap. 103; and to take steps for the appointment of a Surveyor." In anticipation of this, the Council had had a survey made of the town in 1854 and 1855 by a Mr Suter, from whose lithographed plan, the following measurements of the burgh in acres were afterwards made by Mr Fullarton Baird, master of the Free Church School, showing the area as follows :—

	Acres.	Roods.	Poles.	Yards.
1. From the Parliamentary Boundary to High-Water Mark . .	256	3	4	20
2. From High-Water Mark to Low-Water Mark	106	1	0	0
Total, including the Beach . . .	363	0	4	20

Mr John Paterson, C.E., Edinburgh, having been appointed surveyor, prepared an elaborate plan for the drainage of the town in March 1857 with three outlets on the beach, one at the east, another at the west end, and one near to the foot of Regent Street, the total cost of which he estimated at £9000. After being submitted to Mr David Stevenson, C.E., it was on his recommendation agreed to have only two outlets—at the east and west—the main intercepting drain along the beach to be covered over and protected with a sea wall so as to make a promenade.

By a special arrangement with the office of Woods and Forests, the Council acquired from the Crown the right to so use this portion of the beach, at an annual rent of one pound. Arrangements having meanwhile been made for the borrowing of money for the contemplated works which the engineers proposed to carry out in three separate divisions, beginning with the west end, the plans and specifications were issued to contractors, and everything promised the early completion of a much-needed work.

The Town Council had, however, "counted without their host." The expense of the scheme began to frighten the good people of the town. It was much larger than they had dreamt of; and, according to the Police Act, the burden of assessment for this was to be laid entirely upon the occupiers of premises. At a meeting of the inhabitants held on 23rd June, resolutions were passed condemning this as unjust, and a memorial was also sent to the Provost requesting the Magistrates to consider as to getting a private Act passed through Parliament "in order to remedy any injury likely to be inflicted on the tenants of the burgh."

The conflict of opinion on the whole matter assumed towards the autumn of this year an extraordinary pitch, and at length culminated at the annual Municipal Election in November. The retiring Councillors, who were supporters of the scheme, were Mr Andrew Banks, agent for the Western Bank; Mr Alexander Aitchison, and Mr George Kedzlie, draper. The opponents of the scheme put forward Mr John Wood, stockbroker; Mr William Arthur, and Mr Hugh Paton. The contest was a very keen one; and as in those days the poll was by open voting, there was much excitement in the town over it, bills, posters, squibs, pamphlets, personal canvassing, and other election methods of the time being freely used. The opponents of the drainage scheme were successful, and the three latter gentlemen were returned to the Council board.

Provost Johnston, who had exerted himself considerably in order to have this and other improvements effected, took this vote of the ratepayers as a virtual vote of want of confidence in his administration, and sent in his resignation. He was, however, induced, on the presentation of an address from 176 electors, to withdraw it, and once more assumed the Provostship. The admission of the new members did not, of course, facilitate a settle-

ment. Things were at a deadlock; the Council was divided; while the more sensible ot the townspeople were indignant. In these circumstances a committee of inhabitants was formed with a view to co-operate with the Council in the difficulty. They approached the Lord Advocate, representing the desirability of making some amendments on the Police Bill and Nuisance Removal Act, that would lighten the assessment on tenants for drainage. Pending the result of their communications with his Lordship, and the settlement of Mr Paton's appeal to the Sheriff against the scheme as not including the drainage of the old harbour, the Council in December agreed "to take no further proceedings in regard to drainage in the meantime."



PROVOST JOHNSTON.

In the spring of 1858 another effort was made by "the inhabitants' committee" to get Lord Advocate Moncreiff to alter the law to the extent of levying one half of the assessment for drainage upon proprietors, but "a change of ministry at the time rendered it impossible for him to carry the proposal into effect."

Nothing further was done in the matter until the return of hot weather, and the large influx of summer visitors once more brought vividly before the community the absolute necessity of preserving the good name of the town and beach as a health resort. A public meeting of the inhabitants was held (22nd July) at which it was resolved to send a committee with a series of resolutions to the Town Council. These, stated briefly, were to the effect, that as no active steps were being taken to get that done which was so necessary to the health of Portobello, they

approached the Council with an honest desire to have the whole matter settled "speedily and peacefully."

This appeal does not appear to have been satisfactory in its results, and as every one was now thoroughly sick of the question, and anxious to have it settled, another public meeting was, by arrangement with the Council and the Committee, held on 23rd September. Old animosities were buried, and it was resolved to recommend the Council to proceed immediately with the drainage of the town according to Mr Paterson's plans, after these had been submitted to Mr Newlands, a skilled Liverpool engineer, and approved of by him as the most economic that could be got.

Mr Hugh Paton's opposition still blocked the way, however, and little or nothing was done till February following, when the report of Mr Newlands was submitted. Approving of Mr Paterson's plans, he at the same time made several suggestions which were admitted to be improvements, but which would involve a total cost of £11,000, or £2000 more than the original estimate. The committee, looking to the interests of the ratepayers, would not venture to recommend their adoption, but fell back upon the original plans with the addition that the intercepting sewer on the beach from Bath Street to Melville Street should be protected by a stone-faced terrace so as to make a walk twenty feet wide. This was agreed to, and after some negotiation with Mr Paton that gentleman withdrew his opposition, on receiving a small sum in satisfaction of his alleged grievance.

Thus the first stage of the drainage contest was concluded. The engineer and contractors now proceeded to business. Deeds took the place of words. During the whole of the spring and summer of 1859 the works in the first and second divisions on the beach were pushed energetically forward, and contracts entered into for the completion of those in the public streets. In August the plans and notices in connection with the third or Joppa section were given out. This provided for the drainage of all the streets east of and including Melville Street being led into the main intercepting drain on the beach, to flow from that point eastward to an outlet at the foot of Joppa lane. Instigated no doubt by several of the former obstructionists, the proprietors and tenants of Joppa saw in this proposal a danger to the amenity of their neighbourhood, and deterioration of the value of their pro-

perty. A house-to-house visitation by those most deeply interested succeeded in readily securing thirty-one signatures to a memorial to the Council against the scheme, protesting that it was intended not to drain Joppa but to bring all the eastern drainage to Joppa. It was insisted that an outlet at Lower Joppa would be "an intolerable nuisance and eyesore," and they respectfully submitted that it should be placed "elsewhere." The locality of this "elsewhere" they did not condescend to name, but it is rather curious now-a-days to find the good people of that ancient village endeavouring to dissociate themselves from Portobello, on account of supposed conflicting interests. In this long document, extending over twelve pages, it was pointed out that the eastern division of Portobello and Joppa are entirely separate, and ought to have their separate drainage systems; and that if the proposal is carried out "it will inflict a gratuitous injury on Joppa."

Another petition from the same source objected to the making of a promenade along the beach to Joppa, for what reason we are not informed! While another suggested that the intercepting pipe should be carried out to the rocks, and that the water of the mineral spring, which they said "is at present a great interruption and nuisance on the beach," should be carried by a covered drain to the same point. It was clear that if everybody in Joppa was to be consulted, there would be no end of plans, and nothing done. The Council with their engineer, determined that no other plan than that proposed would be so generally useful, and ultimately the Joppa opposition was withdrawn.

The various contracts were now pushed forward with vigour. The greater part of the works on the beach, including the promenade or terrace, were so far completed by the end of the year 1859, that a proposal was made to the Provost to call a public meeting of the inhabitants to make arrangement for some public demonstration. The matter was however delayed. During 1860 the greater part of the drainage of the town was completed, and connections formed with the dwellings. Vexatious objections by interested parties, threatened interdicts, and claims for supposed damage, formed the subject of many long meetings of the Town Council. They mostly emanated from private parties, and were for the most part of no avail against the powers given to the Commissioners by the Act of Parliament. One of the most important was a claim made by Mr Smith, Melville House, to the foreshore,

between his garden wall and the sea. The Commissioners wished to lay their drain there from Melville Street to Joppa, and continue the terrace over it, but Mr Smith, doubtless remembering he had been compelled by the House of Lords to put back this same wall in 1848, had not given up his claim to the sea shore being the boundary of his property. A long correspondence took place, in which he strongly objected to the Commissioners laying pipes or drains or making a terrace in front of his house. He did not venture, however, to put his threatened interdict into force, and the drain was built in spite of his remonstrance.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston, the town was deeply indebted for the perseverance combined with tact which all through this difficult period he displayed in bringing the drainage scheme to a successful termination. He was now in his fourth term of office as Provost, but feeling the weight of years heavy upon him he resolved to retire in November 1860. One of the last public acts he performed was formally to inaugurate the completion of the important work to which he had devoted so much of his time and strength. The Promenade—so far as then built, from Bath Street to Melville Street—was on the 2nd June declared open to the public under the name of THE PRINCE OF WALES TERRACE. This name, it may be mentioned, was given out of compliment to His Royal Highness, who during this and the preceding year while residing at Holyrood had been almost a daily visitor to Portobello.

Colonel Johnston on his retirement was accorded a special vote of thanks by the Council for his long and valuable services during a period of eleven years as the Provost of the town. He died a year afterwards, on the 12th November 1861. The Colonel was in many ways a notable man, having distinguished himself in many a hard fought battle in the Peninsular War. As early as the year 1806, when only a young man of 18, he proceeded with the 40th Regiment to South America, and was severely wounded in the assault on Monte Video. Returning home, he again resumed active service, and was with his regiment in the Peninsula from 1808 to 1813, taking part in many of Wellington's most important engagements as at Roleiga, Vimia, Salamanca, the Pyrenees, Talavera, Badajos, Vittoria, Nivelle, and Albuhera, at which latter place he was again severely wounded. For these services he was decorated with the Peninsular War medal and clasps, also

the Portuguese Command medal for Vittoria, Pyrenees, and Nivelle, the cross for three campaigns, and the order of the Tower and Sword. Alike in war as in peace he was a true gentleman, and from the time of his coming to Portobello and taking up his abode at Mount Lodge, till his death, he was held in the highest esteem by all ranks and classes.

The election in November 1860 was a keenly contested one, involving as it did the choice of a Provost, to which post there were several aspirants. Owing to Colonel Johnston's retirement before the expiry of his term of office, and the resignation of Mr Samuel Rathbone, there were no less than five vacant seats. Those returned were Messrs David Kemp, John Paterson, John Wood, Hugh Paton, and Dr Alex. Home. The other Councillors were Bailie David Craig, Mr T. B. Lang, Mr Henry Scott, and Mr Allan Livingston. The party in favour of Dr Home as Provost succeeded in placing him in the chair, though not without a considerable display of feeling on the part of the defeated minority. Hitherto the civic dignitaries were not blessed with any insignia of office, either in the form of robes, chains, or cocked hats, and the Town Clerk, Mr Alexander Paterson, conceiving that something was required to distinguish the Chief Magistrate at any rate with some suitable symbol of his office, presented the Council with a curiously carved spiral staff mounted with silver, and inscribed as "the Provost's Staff," "on condition of its being handed by the Town Clerk to each succeeding Provost as he is sworn in."* This was for the first time solemnly presented to Dr Home on his taking the chair. The staff, mounted with silver rings, having the names of the various Provosts of Portobello, is now preserved in the museum of the Edinburgh Town Council.

Dr Home was a retired army surgeon. During his term of office, besides other improvements, much was done to put the side streets in a thorough state of repair. None of them had previously been made with road metal; and especially after being cut up by the drainage operations, they presented anything but a respectable appearance. During 1861 and the following three years the work of putting the roadways in good condition was pushed vigorously forward, and so efficiently, that many of the streets where the traffic is not great, are now, after thirty years' use, as perfect as when they were laid.

* *Minutes of Town Council*, 1st November 1860.

Twice during this period the Magistrates and Council approached the Throne in dutiful addresses, the first in December 1861 on the occasion of the death of Prince Albert in an address of condolence; and the second on the more joyful occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Wales in March 1863. In the address to the Prince of Wales congratulating him "on the union now so happily consummated," he is reminded of his former connection with the burgh in these words—"As the Representatives of a Burgh which your Royal Highness has repeatedly honoured with your presence while at the Palace of Holyrood, we participate in the joy a loyal and devoted nation are evincing over an event which under the blessing of Almighty God we fervently trust may be productive of the highest and purest earthly happiness to your Royal Highness and your Royal Bride," etc., etc. (signed) ALEX. GEO. HOME, M.D., Provost.

On this auspicious occasion the townspeople were not behind in their demonstrations of loyal rejoicing. The 10th of March was observed as a holiday. In the evening a banquet was held in the Council Chambers; the old house of the "Father of Portobello" putting on a festive garb, was gaily illuminated both outside and in, and a considerable number of gentlemen, with Provost Home in the chair, sat down to dinner. But the feasting was not confined to the upper classes, for the inhabitants had generously remembered the poor, to whom "there was distributed a liberal supply of provisions." On the same evening Edinburgh was brilliantly illuminated, presenting a spectacle unsurpassed by any city in the Empire. But this did not prevent the good folks of the seaside burgh showing their loyalty in a somewhat similar fashion, for there was a display of fireworks on the following evening at the Prince of Wales Terrace.

It was during the period of Provost Home's tenure of office, the Council were involved in two law suits, one of which at least evoked a considerable amount of party feeling, and led to much irritation and division. The first was an action raised by Mr Robert Cargill, W.S., son-in-law of William Jameson, "the Father of Portobello," who as proprietor of lands and tenements in Pipe Street, Bridge Street, and the adjoining lanes, sought to have it declared that Bridge Street Lane and Brickfield Lane were his private property, over which the Town Council had no jurisdiction. After a long correspondence, beginning in 1861, a sum-

mons was served upon the Council in November 1862 in a Court of Session action. After repeated delays and hearings, the case was at length settled in December 1863, the Court repelling Mr Cargill's claims on every point, and declaring that the street or lane in question was a public street or thoroughfare, and therefore came under the operation of the Police Act, like most of the other streets in Portobello, or any other town where the Police Act was in operation for the suppression of nuisances. Thus the matter rested till March 1864, when Mr Cargill appealed to the House of Lords. The case was however withdrawn in June of the same year in consequence of Mr Cargill selling his Bridge Street Lane property to Mr David Craig and undertaking to pay the expenses in the action.

The other case in which the Council was involved was of a more serious nature. This was the Town Hall case. The erection of the Town Hall by a private company, consisting for the most part of townsmen, was begun in 1862. Before this there was little accommodation in the town for meetings of a secular kind. Lectures, soirees, concerts, municipal, or political meetings were generally held in one or other of the churches or schoolrooms. The want of a suitable hall for public entertainments or meetings had been long felt, and even the Town Council accommodation was not what it ought to have been. Since the establishment of the municipality in 1833, the Council Chambers had been simply private residences rented and adapted for public purposes. After several changes the Council had been accommodated since 1852 in Rosefield House, Adelphi Place. But even it was far from being adequate for the growing requirements of the police establishment, and accordingly a movement was originated to provide a public hall. After some negotiations a company was formed, with Dr Home, the then Provost, as chairman, and Mr Alexander Taylor, postmaster, as secretary. Capital to the extent of £2200 was subscribed, and the site upon which Porto-House had stood since 1753, when George Hamilton was encouraging visitors to the "Freegate Whins" to witness his horse races and "Cat in the Barrel," was appropriately enough fixed upon for the new Town Hall.

Having secured the feu from Baxter's heirs, old Portobello House was demolished, and the erection of a hall from designs by Mr David Bryce, R.S.A., proceeded with. The plan included

premises for Council Chambers, Town Clerk's office, police cells and dwellings, and several shops on the ground floor, from which it was calculated there would be a sufficient revenue to pay the shareholders a reasonable dividend.

As early as May 1860, Mr John Miller, the provisional Chairman of the Company, wrote to the Town Council asking what accommodation in the proposed building would be required. Having stated what space would be necessary, plans were accordingly got. In October following the matter was again taken up by the Council, and a more detailed statement of accommodation made out and sent to the secretary of the company offering to pay a rent of £80 per annum for a lease of fifteen years. In May 1862 the ground plans of the building were submitted and, with a slight modification, approved. On this footing, building operations were begun —the foundation stone being laid on 4th August 1862 amid general manifestations of rejoicing.

The day was observed as a close holiday, and the Grand Lodge of Scotland honoured the proceedings by their presence, the ceremony being performed by the Duke of Atholl. No less than thirty lodges were represented, from all parts of the country, numbering about 450 Free Masons. The Grand Lodge was opened in the Council Chambers, and the deputations from the other lodges having formed themselves into procession in Brighton Park, walked to Adelphi Place, with the band of the Scots Greys in front. Being joined by the Grand Lodge, the procession turned and passed down Bath Street, along the Promenade, up James Street, and along the High Street westward, until the front reached the site of the proposed building, where the usual Masonic ceremonies were gone through before an immense concourse of spectators.

In the evening a banquet was held in a large marquee erected in a park in Brighton Place (now occupied by Lee Crescent and the bowling green) where about 150 gentlemen assembled to do honour to the occasion. The whole proceedings of the day passed off with marked success, the Masonic demonstration being such that the secretary of the lodge records that "nothing like it has ever occurred in Portobello before."

The building was completed in the following spring, and the Council removed from Adelphi Place in May, having entered into a fifteen years' lease of the new premises. Before they

had been many months in occupation, however, it began to be felt the accommodation was not altogether satisfactory, and it was even hinted by some outspoken individuals that it was not altogether as it ought to be, or as it had been originally stipulated; that, in short, a fraud had been committed upon the town. In August 1863 Mr Thomas Wood, who had been returned to the Council at the previous November election, along with Mr James Scott (formerly Postmaster of the town), and Mr David Kemp, gave notice of a motion "that it be remitted to a committee to investigate and report on the present accommodation obtained by the Commissioners of Police in the new premises, and ascertain the cause of alteration from original arrangements, and generally all arrangements connected therewith." This was moved and carried at the next meeting. In November, pending the Committee's report, it was resolved to withhold payment to the company of the half-year's rent. At this time Dr Home's term of office having expired, a determined effort was made to oust him, and it came to be a contest between the Town Hall party, and the anti-Town Hall party. The latter were victorious; and Messrs Allan Livingston, George Kedzlie, and Thomas Tough were returned against Dr Home, Mr A. Scott, and Mr Thomas Proudfoot. On account of this adverse decision, Bailie Kemp resigned office. Bailie Craig was elected Provost, and the other two Magistrates' seats being vacant, Mr Allan Livingston and Mr Thomas Wood were elected Bailies.

In December the whole question of the Town Hall lease was brought up by Bailie Wood in a long elaborate report, in which, under eight separate heads, it was contended that the original agreement as to accommodation had not been implemented, while terms and conditions had been laid upon the Commissioners, in the lease, that were not warranted.

After one or two ineffectual attempts at a settlement, the company threatened legal proceedings. The action with Mr Cargill, as we have said, had been settled some months before this against him, with expenses. These were still unpaid, and amounted to at least £120. This sum was, at the instance of the Town Hall Company, arrested in his hands, and several leading ratepayers had arrestments also served on them for the amount of their rates.

A good deal of feeling now began to be manifested; the townspeople were divided; some taking one side, some the other.

Everywhere the dispute was the subject of conversation and angry discussion. At the Council board it was the principal business for some months, filling page upon page of their minute book with copies of correspondence and reports, leading to many protracted sederunts. On the advice of counsel, it was at length resolved to apply to the Court of Session for a reduction of their unfortunate lease; and as a preliminary to that they resolved to leave the premises, and rented a house in Grove Place for £40, whither they removed the Police Establishment in March, not, however, until being checkmated by the Directors in a process in the Sheriff Court, they had consigned the whole year's rent in the hands of the Court. It was all in vain that neutral parties tried to bring about an understanding; the Town Hall Company were determined to stick to their lease, and the majority of the Commissioners resented any interference with the "legally constituted authorities," as an attempt to coerce them in their line of duty.

On 29th April 1864 the Company's plea for payment of the rent was debated in the Outer House before Lord Curriehill, who decided in their favour, being of opinion they should get the use of the first year's rent until the end of the reduction case. The Commissioners appealed against this, but the Inner House adhered to the decision, with expenses. In December the Company applied for rent for the period since the Commissioners removed to Grove Place, which on the advice of Counsel was refused. In February 1865 the reduction case was debated before Lord Jerviswood, who pronounced an interlocutor, allowing the Commissioners to lodge issues, but without deciding the legal question. Again the opinion of Counsel was taken; and again they were advised that the Commissioners' case was a good one. A reclaiming note was accordingly lodged.

In the interval a proposal was made by the company to sell the property to the Commissioners for £3240, being £300 less than the subscribed capital and borrowed money. This originated in a liberal offer by William Miller, Esq., M.P., Donald Macgregor, Esq., and Provost Lindsay of Leith, to give up their interest in the company to the latter amount "with a view to settling the dispute, restoring peace, and promoting the welfare of the burgh." After being considered by the Lease Committee, this offer was not accepted, on the ground that "they thought they had no

power to enter into such a purchase," and if they had, "the price asked was exorbitant." After further protracted correspondence with counsel and agents, the reclaiming note at length came before the Court of Session in May 1866. Their Lordships again decided in favour of the Town Hall Company, by adhering to Lord Jerviswood's interlocutor, sending the case to the Jury Court to have the whole facts investigated. The effect of this decision being to open up a field for increased litigation, of which all were thorougly tired, the Commissioners made another effort at compromise. A conference took place with the Hall Directors, but no arrangement was come to, the committee stating in their report that "they found the directors to be as unreasonable and unyielding as they had been throughout the whole course of the dispute." In October 1866 the matter was still before the Court, having been reported by the Lord Ordinary to the Inner House for adjustment. Much time and money had been spent without avail; the ratepayers were clamorous for a settlement; and as the elections were coming on, threats of opposition were increasing against the dominant party. While therefore insisting strongly on the justice of their case, yet, from their experience of the "law's delays," and uncertainty of the issue, the Commissioners deemed it wise, "for the sake of the burgh," to discontinue the litigation. A joint minute for the parties was accordingly lodged in process, and on 16th November the Lords of the First Division assoilzied the Town Hall Company from the conclusion of the action.

At the November Municipal Election of this year the excitement was considerable. Provost Craig (who did not seek re-election), Bailie Wood, and Mr T. Tough retired by rotation, and a strong effort was made to supersede these by Town Hall candidates. It was partly successful by the return of Mr James Tait and Mr Thomas Connon. Bailie Wood, however, secured his seat. The anti-Town Hall party were thus still in a majority, and they elected Mr Allan Livingston to be Provost in place of his father-in-law, Provost Craig, the Bailies being Mr George Kedzlie and Mr Thomas Wood.

The litigation now happily at an end, the Council resolved, on the motion of Bailie Wood, to resume possession of the Town Hall premises, which they accordingly did in May 1867, after these had been thoroughly overhauled and put in proper order by

the company. Thus after five years' contention, in which much ill-feeling was engendered, this celebrated litigation was closed.

A story is told of Bob M'Gee, somewhat of a character, who for many years had been head scavenger of the town, and who had now seen three or four flittings of the Town Council, which involved on him a good deal of extra labour. Bob had been busy all day carrying the fittings and furniture from Grove Place to the hall, and was evidently very tired of the business. Meeting a friend when he was toiling along with a part of the judicial bench on his shoulders, he was accosted with the remark, "What's this your about now, Bob?" "Oh!" said Bob, "we're flittin' the Council again." "Oh," said his friend, "are ye going back to the hall again?" and by way of consolation interjected the remark "but changes are lightsome." "Aye," said Bob, "maybe ye think so, but if ye had had as many of them as me, ye would find them heavy enough!"

The heat and animosity which the Town Hall dispute called forth were something remarkable, and yet it had its humorous side, and was prolific of much serio-comic literature which periodically broke out at election times. Much of it, of course, was personal, and though sometimes clever, and answering its purpose at the time in turning an election one way or other, it would serve no good purpose to perpetuate it in these annals.

To resume our more sober matter-of-fact narrative of events, on 4th January 1867, after a very short illness, Provost Livingston died, having presided over the Council for the short period of only seven weeks. So unforeseen and unexpected an event naturally caused deep regret in the town, and some speculation as to who should succeed him in the chair. At the monthly meeting on 8th January, Bailie Wood (presiding) referred to the loss which had befallen the Council and the community, and moved as a mark of respect to their late Provost's memory that the ordinary business be postponed, that the Council as a body should attend the funeral on the following day, and also at Divine Service in Portobello Parish Church (of which he was a member) on the Sabbath following. Meanwhile a movement was set on foot in favour of Mr James Tait, and at the next meeting of Council a deputation of ratepayers was in attendance who presented a petition signed by 175 persons requesting them to elect that gentleman to the Provostship. This however they did not do. The matter was

left over for a week, and at a meeting on 23rd January, Bailie Wood was elected by a majority to be provost. Mr Hunter being afterwards elected bailie.

The Council, being now free from legal questions, they were able to give more attention to other matters affecting the welfare of the town, and even to matters of Parliamentary importance. In March of the following year (1868), when the Conservative Government of Mr Disraeli was in office, and their "Representation of the Peoples Act" was before the country, Provost Wood was requested, along with the deputies from the other burghs in the district, to obtain a separate representative in Parliament for Portobello, Musselburgh, and Dalkeith. In this they did not succeed, but they met with a courteous reception from the leading politicians on both sides of the House. At home, questions affecting the Promenade, the improvement of the Railway Station, the sanitary condition of the town, including lighting, cleaning, and paving sufficiently engrossed the Council's attention.

As the election of November 1867 approached, the question as to Provost Wood's tenure of office was raised ; and the opinion of counsel being taken, it was found that his appointment to the Provostship was an interim one. The friends of Mr Tait, taking advantage of so favourable an opportunity determined to make an effort again to have him elected to the chair. There were four vacancies caused by retirement in rotation of Bailie Hunter, Mr J. Davidson, Mr Thomas Hepburn, and Mr Brown, who was an interim Councillor. Eight candidates were brought forward, four for each side, and the contest, while it lasted, was keen and prolific of some curious electioneering literature, in which satire and ridicule were freely resorted to with the aid of pictorial cartoons. Those highest on the poll were Messrs Henry Calder, David Craig, William Caldwell, William Hunter and James Falshaw (afterwards Lord Provost of Edinburgh), the two latter having an equal number of votes. Bailie Kedzlie, the returning officer, decided that "neither of these two could be accepted as Councillors." A new election took place for the fourth seat and Mr Hunter was returned—Mr Falshaw declining to contest it. After taking the opinion of counsel as to the election of Provost, and following a similar case which had occurred at Newton Stewart, it was decided to proceed to the election of a Provost *de novo*, when Mr Wood was re-elected by four votes to three recorded

for Mr Tait. So close was the contest that it appears if Mr Falshaw, who was known to favour Mr Tait, had been elected to the Council instead of Mr Hunter, who was a supporter of Mr Wood, the presumption is that Mr Tait would have been chosen to be Provost. Such are the uncertainties of Municipal honours. The want of one vote at the poll lost Mr Tait the coveted honour, which never came his way again.

Once more the Council settled down to business, and the electors ceased for a time to be troubled with the claims of contending factions.

In addition to the ordinary routine work of the town, several prominent schemes for the next three or four years engrossed much of the time and attention of the Council, a large portion of the details of which fell upon Provost Wood, especially in looking after local bills then before Parliament.

These schemes were—first, the extension and completion of the Promenade; second, the erection of Portobello Pier; third, the improvement of the water supply; and fourth, the introduction of tramways.

After the opening of the Prince of Wales Terrace in 1860, something had been done to complete the walk along the shore. With no available money to complete what every one recognised would be a great boon to the place, the Provost caused the scrapings from the roads to be laid down eastward of Melville Street, and after it became consolidated a solid stone wall was erected in 1866 to protect it from the sea. The greater part of this wall was, however, swept away by several high tides in the spring of 1867. This calamity led to the work being done with greater engineering skill to withstand the apparently increasing force of the tidal wave; for the committee in their report stated that "the strong tidal wave that for the last few years has been increasing in force at that point of the beach is mainly attributable to the recent construction at Leith of the new Docks and Pier, which appears to give direction and impetus to the tidal current."

This being so, it was found necessary to have a wall of considerable strength erected; but the Commissioners of Police not having funds for such a purpose, approached the various proprietors along the shore with a view to each doing the work opposite his own property. Some of these did so, others offered to subscribe a share. Among the latter we find the Marquis of Abercorn

giving £100; Mr J. Mackenzie, £60; and Mr R. A. Macfie, then M.P. for the Leith Burghs, £50.

Thanks to the exertions of the Provost and Council the greater part of the new wall was completed during 1869 and 1870, in stone work as far as the foot of Joppa Lane, with a line of lamps placed along the front of the Promenade. Unfortunately however the foundation had not been deep enough, for again the force of the tidal wave proved too much for it. On the first of January 1877 a severe storm from the east which swept the waves clean over the promenade and some distance up the side streets played such havoc with the structure that the greater part was left a complete ruin. Of its restoration we shall have more to say later on.

THE PROMENADE PIER.

If in its early history Portobello could boast of having a harbour and pier, these had long ceased to exist except as an unshapely ruin. Gradually the harbour had been silted up with sand, and the inflow of sewage from the old mill lade had practically transformed its waters into a cesspool. Bit by bit the facing stones of the harbour had disappeared for building purposes, until scarce a fragment remained to indicate that anything of the kind had ever existed.

The trade of the town did not apparently demand such a convenience, being no doubt better accommodated by the railway.

As a watering place, it had long been felt, however, that Portobello even with its unrivalled beach wanted a Jetty or Pier to complete its attractiveness. Compared with other watering places facilities for boating were very deficient. Owing very much to the difficulty of embarking from the beach, there were few boats for hire. The most ludicrous scenes would at times be witnessed, such as boatmen carrying ladies and gentlemen on their backs through a heavy surf, at the risk of a ducking before the pleasure of a sail could be enjoyed.

For a good many years the question of erecting a suitable Pier had been talked of, and had indeed been the "stalking horse" at several Municipal Elections, aspirants to honours promising "to do their utmost to promote so desirable an object for the welfare of the town," but in most cases their promises were never again heard of.

It was not till 1868 that these proposals took definite shape. After some negotiation between Provost Wood and Mr Thomas

Bouch, afterwards engineer of the unfortunate first Tay Bridge, a company was promoted to carry out the erection of the Promenade Pier from Mr Bouch's designs, with a capital of £7000, in 700 shares of £10 each. A comparatively small part of the capital was subscribed in Portobello, many being no doubt deterred from doing so by the ill luck of the shareholders of the Town Hall. The greater part of the Pier stock was taken up by Mr Bouch and his relatives. In March 1869 the Portobello Pier Company's Bill was before Parliament, and in its passage through committee first of the House of Lords and then of the Commons was the occasion of much local agitation. This arose from the fact that no provision had been made preventing Sunday traffic by vessels or boats; and a very generally expressed fear arose that unless this was prohibited, or at all events put under control, the Pier would become a source of annoyance to the peace of the town. The Bill contained at the same time certain clauses which it was thought gave the Company more power than was desirable over the beach. In the interest of the public the Town Council interposed to secure amendments, but not before the Bill with its objectionable features had passed the House of Lords.

The Provost was despatched to London to watch over its progress through the Commons, and if possible to have a clause inserted "giving the Council a voice in the regulation of the times of opening, and manner of using the Pier on Sundays." After much negotiation the bill was so altered to meet their views, and passed the Committee of the Commons on 10th June.

On its return to the House of Lords for approval, Lord Redesdale, the chairman of committees, persistently refused to pass the measure with the alterations made, and struck the new clauses out, remarking in reply to the protestations of the Provost, "you are a very peculiar people in Portobello!" In these circumstances a public meeting was held in Portobello, at which Mr R. A. Macfie, M.P., was present, to petition Parliament in favour of the retention of the Sabbath-traffic-prevention clause. Provost Wood was again asked to go to London "to watch the further progress of the Bill." It was found, however, the difficulty was insuperable, except by a private arrangement between Mr Bouch for the promoters, and the Town Council for the public, so as to leave out any reference to "Sunday" traffic whatever, thereby making the clause apply to every day of the week. Even this

Lord Redesdale would not consent to, so determinedly opposed was he to any form of agreement being obtained which would enable the stopping of Sunday traffic by steamers and boats. It was ultimately agreed to settle the matter by private agreement, the clause objected to by Lord Redesdale having by the consent of the Town Council been withdrawn. A binding agreement to this effect was signed by Mr Bouch, and the Bill passed both Houses of Parliament in July 1869.

The Pier was built and completed in 1871 at a cost of £10,000. It was formally opened on the 23rd May, in presence of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and the leading authorities of Leith, Musselburgh, and Portobello, who assembled to do honour to the occasion. There was a great assemblage of spectators on the Pier and on the beach to witness the proceedings. At mid-day the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, the Provost and Magistrates of Leith, &c., together with a number of influential gentlemen belonging to the district assembled in the Town Hall, where a procession was formed to the Pier. At the seaward end of the structure there was a large meeting, presided over by Provost Wood. In declaring the Pier open he thanked Lord Provost Law and the other municipal dignitaries for their presence there that day on so auspicious an occasion. "The scheme has not been," he said, "instigated by pecuniary motives, but with the view of developing and promoting the prosperity of Portobello. With a beach second to none in the Kingdom, a fine promenade, and this promenade Pier, we hope it will be a source of pleasure and enjoyment not only to the people of the district, but to many visitors from Edinburgh and from a distance." On the conclusion of the ceremony a large party embarked on board a steamer which had been chartered for the purpose, and enjoyed an excursion of an hour-and-half along the coast. Returning with a good sea-going appetite the company sat down to lunch in the Pier Saloon. Provost Wood presided, and was supported by Bailie Kedzlie as croupier, and among those present were Lord Provost Law, Bailies Skinner, Miller, Cousin, and Lewis, Treasurer Colston, Councillors Wormald, Mitchell, Murray, &c., Edinburgh; Provost Watt of Leith, Provost Sanderson, Musselburgh; Rev. George Deans, Mr John Knox Crawford, &c. The proceedings were varied with toast and song for several hours, any trace of sea sickness being effectually counteracted by a plentiful supply of champagne!

The Pier, it may be mentioned, is 1250 feet in length, the main body or gangway being 1080 feet, and the Pierhead with pavilion making up the remaining length. Originally the gangway was twenty-two feet wide, but it has since been reduced to nineteen feet. For many years the venture was fairly successful and dividends were paid to the shareholders, but structural alterations and repairs, involving heavy expenditure, led to the company being wound up, and the Pier was disposed of to the present proprietor, Mr M. P. Galloway, for £1500, or a fraction of its original cost price.

THE WATER SUPPLY.

The introduction of the Edinburgh water system into Portobello in 1850 was an undoubted boon to the town. Since then not only the population of Portobello, but of the whole district had enormously increased, and to such an extent, that the Water Company after one or two extensions of their works at the Pentland Hills, felt themselves unable to cope with the increasing demand. During the summer of 1868, which happened to be particularly dry, there were great complaints in Edinburgh, Leith, and Portobello regarding the scarcity of water. In June of that year the Portobello Town Council appointed a committee consisting of Bailie Hunter, Councillor Craig, and Provost Wood, to co-operate with Edinburgh and Leith in order to consider the propriety of handing over the Water Company's works to a public Trust, and bringing in a fresh supply of water from another source. The Committee met in July, and after considering the matter in all its bearings, Mr James W. Stewart, C.E., was appointed to examine and report on the supply then available, its distribution, and the sources from which a more abundant supply could be obtained. He reported to the Joint Committee in August, pointing out the nature and cause of the deficient supply, and recommending St Mary's Loch and the Loch of the Lowes as the source from which a more abundant supply could be obtained, the lochs being of great depth, measuring nearly four miles in length, about three-eights of a mile in breadth, and containing a surface of about 723 imperial acres.

In a supplementary report Mr Stewart stated that the probable cost, including town service, would be £550,000, but that the value of the existing works would reduce the cost to about £200,000.

As much dubiety began to be expressed as to the wisdom of bringing a supply so far and at so great a cost, the Committee asked Mr Bateman, a celebrated London engineer, to report upon the scheme. He entirely agreed with the views and opinions of Mr Stewart. The result was the preparation of plans, and the laying of a Bill before Parliament asking its sanction to the scheme. In March 1870, a public meeting was held in the Town Hall, Portobello, at which the Provost presided, "for the purpose of considering the question." After hearing the statements and explanations of the Town Council regarding the Bill, the meeting approved of the Bill, and pledged itself to promote in every legitimate way the proposed undertaking.

On the Bill coming before the Committee of the House of Lords, the Chairman refused to allow it to pass on account of some technical error in the plans, relating to St Mary's Loch Scheme, but he afterwards allowed that part of the Bill to proceed relating to the formation of a New Trust and taking over the Water Company's works. The Committee having failed to induce the Directors of the Company to meet with them in the endeavour to effect an amicable arrangement, were compelled at great expense and inconvenience to themselves to proceed to London to prove the case before a Committee of the House of Commons. The contest resulted in the passing of the Bill by the Commons; but being still unable to make terms with the Company, they had again to contend with them before the Committee of the Lords. After considerable correspondence, an arrangement was at length made guaranteeing the shareholders an annuity of 6 per cent. on the capital of £414,000, and a minute to this effect, drawn by Mr Marwick and Mr Guild, was signed by the Lord Provost, Provost Watt of Leith, and Provost Wood of Portobello.

The Bill received the Royal assent on 26th July 1869, and at the Council meeting in August, at which a full report of the matter was submitted, Bailie Hunter was elected one of the two trustees returnable from Portobello, Provost Wood being the other, *ex-officio*.

The new Trustees immediately took steps to have their proposals for the St Mary's Loch Scheme sanctioned by Parliament. A new Bill was prepared in the spring with this in view and making certain alterations on the 1869 Act in so far as regards the election of Trustees.

The Scheme now met with an amount of opposition in the three constituencies which led ultimately to its being abandoned; the principal objections urged being the quality of the water, and the cost. In May, the Council, while the Bill was still before the House of Lords, petitioned in its favour, notwithstanding that a memorial signed by 115 ratepayers of the town against their doing so, had been presented asking them to withdraw their support from the measure.

The Trustees in 1871 again found themselves hard pressed to keep up the supply of water, and with little prospect of a solution of the difficulty. As a rival scheme to St Mary's Loch, it was suggested to get a supply from the Moorfoot Hills, and the cost being considerably less than the former, the Economists readily adopted it.

The whole question became much involved. Conflicting schemes and opinions were discussed with much animation. The Trustees with great difficulty kept up a scrimp supply of water while the conflict of opinion spent itself in fruitless talk. In September 1872 the trustees having considered the report of their engineers —Mr Hawksley and Mr James Leslie—on the Pentland and Moorfoot schemes, asked them to give a report upon another scheme that had been proposed, viz., the Lyne scheme, and being of opinion that action should be taken in Parliament during the following session, they put the whole report before the Town Councils of Edinburgh, Leith, and Portobello in order to get their opinion as to the Parliamentary action to be taken.

This met with some support for a time, but a water famine seemed to be in the near future, and the Trustees driven almost to despair of getting a supply anywhere, so long as the division of opinion existed sent a resolution in May 1873 to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh and the Provosts and members of the Town Councils of Leith and Portobello "to take into their serious consideration the position in which the Trust would be placed in 1875, unless a supply of water can be constantly supplied under pressure, and to request these Corporations as the authors of the Edinburgh and District Water Act of 1869 to take measures to have the said Act amended and injury to the public timeously prevented."

They further asked for support in their resolution to prepare a Bill to enable them to bring in the waters of Glencorse valley, which Messrs Hawksley and Leslie had reported upon in 1871.

The Midlothian Water Bill was then brought forward by a private company to introduce a supply from Manor Water. It received the support of the Leith Town Council and of Portobello, but the Edinburgh Corporation took a different view. The Bill was ultimately passed, but no efforts were made to carry out the works.

In November 1871 the elections for the Edinburgh Council went heavily against the supporters of St Mary's Loch scheme. Public opinion had veered round, effecting a great alteration on the *personnel* of the Trust; the expensive scheme so long cherished was abandoned, and at last, towards the end of 1873, Mr James Leslie having become their resident engineer, he and Mr Hawksley reported in favour of the necessary additional water supply for the city and district being taken from the Moorfoot Hills. This scheme, after long and persistent opposition by Leith and Portobello, was ultimately approved of by a plebiscite of the ratepayers of the three Constituencies, the Bill being passed by Parliament in the following year. At the November elections of 1873 Mr Wood was induced by a strong representation from leading inhabitants to allow himself again to be nominated for the Council, though he had indicated his determination to retire; and in spite of a strong opposition in favour of Mr James Tait, he and Mr John Ferguson were returned by a large majority, and once more he was placed in the Provost's chair.

At this election the Water question was most keenly discussed in what proved to be one of the hardest election fights that had ever taken place in the Burgh. Opinion both within and outside of the Council was divided as to the merits of the schemes proposed. Provost Wood and Bailie Hunter, both of them representatives for the town in the Water Trust, strongly supported the St Mary's Loch Scheme, the Moorfoots Bill receiving their uncompromising opposition, as it at first provided for a separation of a portion of the undertaking applicable to Leith and Portobello with a view to separate Trusts. To this they would not consent, and ultimately as the Bill passed through Parliament the obnoxious clauses were considerably modified. This was not accomplished, however, without some difficulty. Mr Wood and Mr Hunter being personally in favour of the St Mary's Loch Scheme could not well assist in the passing of the Moorfoot Scheme, and an appeal had to be made to the electors to vote again on the sub-

ject. This plebiscite was taken in January 1874, and resulted in a majority giving in their adhesion to the Bill before Parliament, to which their representatives loyally assented.

So far as Portobello was concerned, it did not come a day too soon. Strict economy in the use of water was enjoined, and it was so precious that it could not be got to water the streets, and for this purpose a supply had to be taken from the Figgate Burn. A complaint from the inhabitants that they had not sufficient for domestic purposes, was answered by the statement that "twenty-seven gallons per head per day is as large a quantity as can be given consistently with fair play to Edinburgh and Leith."

This state of matters was speedily rectified, and under the new arrangement the Trustees are now able to supply about thirty-seven gallons per head to a much larger population, with abundance of water for the streets and for flushing the drains of the town.

The Moorfoot Water Works were opened on 13th June 1879 in presence of a large number of representative citizens. Portmore Loch and Gladhouse Reservoirs were visited, the water at the latter place being turned on by Lord Provost Boyd.

Provost Wood of Portobello throughout all the negotiations in connection with this important question took a very prominent part, and it is rather remarkable that of all the original Trustees appointed in 1869, he is only one who has continued throughout to sit at the Board. At the banquet which followed the opening of the works, in proposing his health as one of the Croupiers, Mr John Wilson, M.P., in referring to Mr Wood's long tenure of office, remarked that—

> "Men may come and men may go,
> But he goes on for ever."

Mr Wood is still an active member of the Trust.

THE TRAMWAYS.

Another important measure affecting the well-being of the town was the introduction of the line of Tramways from Edinburgh.

The Railway had been open since 1844, but it had not succeeded in running the old stage coaches off the road. The three miles' drive was looked upon by many as a proper part of their sea-side visit—as an enjoyable adjunct to a dip in the sea.

As already mentioned, the coaches had been a feature of Portobello life from the year 1806, when "a handsome Stage Coach with good horses and a careful driver," was first started to run from Edinburgh to Portobello three times a day, at the rate of 10d per passenger. For many years thereafter the coaches were conducted by Mr Rice Forsyth, the proprietor of the hotel in Bath Street, who had as an opponent John Ross of the Crown Inn, and afterwards the business was taken up by Mr John Croall of Edinburgh celebrity. Latterly the coach started from Bath Street every hour for Edinburgh, and passengers had to secure their seats beforehand in the booking office, for the "inside," the "basket," or the outside, as first, second, and third-class were styled; the fares being 6d, 4d, and 3d each. In addition to the coaches reserved for the Portobello route, the Edinburgh and Musselburgh coach also passed through the town, and picked up passengers if there happened to be room. The driver—Willie Elliot—was a well-known character, and was long a favourite on the road; a seat behind Willie on his "box" being a coveted pleasure. All this was about to be changed.

In January 1870, a company was formed to establish Street Tramways in Edinburgh, and in May a bill was introduced into Parliament giving the necessary authority, the Portobello Corporation petitioning in favour of the bill, which passed in July following. In 1873 the company asked for powers to extend their system to Portobello and to carry a double line through the town. This the Council opposed; Provost Wood and Councillor Campbell being anthorised when the measure came before the Parliamentary Committee, to oppose the bill, with a view to insist upon only one line of rails on the High Street. Ultimately the Company made such concessions as to this and keeping up the causewaying of the centre of the street, that the opposition was withdrawn, and the bill passed in August 1874.

The line to Portobello was completed in 1875, the first car being run from Edinburgh, on the twelfth day of May of that year. Mr Croall withdrew his stage coaches shortly after, and even Willie Elliot's Musselburgh coach failed after a time to attract sufficient passengers to make it pay, and was also withdrawn from the road. The increased facilities afforded by the Tramway Company and a considerable reduction in the fares charged by the Railway Company have wonderfully increased the

number of visitors to the town of late years. In 1882 the traffic had increased so enormously that the Tramway line was doubled between Edinburgh and the west end of the burgh, the High Street being considered too narrow for a double line without interfering with ordinary traffic. Through the determined action of Bailie A. W. Buchan the Council stipulated for several concessions being made by the Tramway Company, among others that the latter should causeway the whole width of the street from the Bridge to Bellfield Lane, and maintain the same so long as the Company continued to use the street. This much-needed improvement was after a good deal of correspondence accordingly carried out, along with the widening of the Bridge. The tramway traffic is now very heavy, especially in summer, and the system, extended in 1897 to the eastern extremity of Joppa, is found to be a great convenience.

THE CEMETERY.

The large increase in the population of Portobello necessitated in course of time an extension of the burying-ground. Duddingston Churchyard, and the Churchyard at the Parish Church, Melville Street, notwithstanding that a large addition had been made to the latter about the year 1850, were overcrowded, and in 1875 the question of additional accommodation was forced upon the Town Council by the Parochial Board.

None of the existing churchyards could be further enlarged, and it was determined to form a new Public Cemetery for the burgh. The difficulty of securing a suitable piece of ground for the purpose near the town was an obstacle not easily surmounted, but at length a site was obtained to the east of the village of Easter Duddingston, and four acres enclosed. The whole cost of of the ground and laying it out, with keeper's lodge, etc., amounted to £11,000, which was borrowed by the Commissioners to be repaid with interest in twenty years.

The Cemetery was opened for interments in 1877, and now forms a prominent feature of the locality, containing as it does many fine monuments.

THE PROMENADE.

Reference has already been made to the repeated difficulties connected with the construction of the Promenade on the beach and its efficient upkeep. At first the hazardous nature of the situa-

tion does not seem to have been fully realised. Storms and high tides at Portobello were common enough, and yet when a sea wall was to be built which should be exposed to their fury, somehow sufficient precaution was not taken that it should be strong enough to resist the elements. Several times mud slopes and stone walls had been thus washed away, but the most disastrous of them all was that which resulted from the great storm of 1st January 1877, when nearly the whole of the sea wall from Melville Street to Joppa succumbed to the force of the sea. The Promenade was then unpaved, and as the water was driven up over its surface—even a considerable distance up the converging streets—it soon made large breaches, and ere long had swept great parts of the earth away from behind the wall, leaving it on New Year's morning standing almost alone. The storm still continuing, the wall in its turn was laid flat upon the sands. It was a complete wreck. Provost Wood with great energy immediately set about arrangements for meeting this great disaster, and having the Promenade rebuilt without delay. The only part of it saved was between Bath Street and Melville Street, upon which stands an ornate stone fountain presented by Mr Paterson, formerly Town Clerk from 1836 to 1874. Even this was considerably damaged. As the storm had made it abundantly evident that a Promenade was not only ornamental and useful but also a necessary protection to property close to the beach, the adjoining proprietors—many of whom had formerly given liberally for its construction—were waited upon, and in many cases promises given to bear the cost of the wall opposite their property. A motion by the Provost in the Council that the repair and rebuilding of the Promenade in concrete should be proceeded with as soon as estimates had been got, was unanimously passed, and a considerable portion of the work was at once proceeded with. Difficulties cropped up here and there owing to one or two of the proprietors refusing to pay their share, but these were ultimately adjusted, and once more the Promenade was complete between Bath Street and the east end of Joppa.

MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS.

This fine block of buildings in the old Scotch baronial style was erected in 1878 from designs by Messrs R. Paterson & Son, architects, Edinburgh, at a cost of £5000. The fifteen years' lease of the Town Hall, which commenced so inauspiciously in

1862 by a litigation extending over five years, was not a satisfactory one for the town. The premises being most inadequate for Municipal purposes, it was agreed that the time had come when the Corporation should be provided with a building of its own, combining with the necessary apartments for the Town Council, Treasurer, Town Clerk, etc., accommodation for police, cells for prisoners, fire engine, and in fact for the whole staff and machinery of municipal government.

A suitable site for the purpose having been purchased on the High Street adjoining Ramsay Lane for £1260, with a frontage of 57 feet and a depth of 106 feet, the work was begun in December 1877, and being pushed on with considerable rapidity, the premises were partly ready for occupation by the following autumn. The cost was defrayed by a loan to be repaid by instalments spread over twenty years. Ample accommodation was provided in the building for municipal and police purposes, the Town Council Room and Court Room being handsome apartments. The Treasurer, the Town Clerk, and the Registrar had suitable offices on the ground floor, while police cells and offices, fire engine room, etc., were accommodated at the rear. The tower is fitted up with a clock and a bell, the latter the gift of Provost Wood. Several portraits in oil adorn the Council Room, including those of Provost Craig, Provost Home, Provost Wood, and Bailies Douglas and Kedzlie, men who in their day distinguished themselves in the welfare of the town, and are thus fittingly commemorated by their sucessors. Other portraits in the building are those of Bailie Cook, Dr Hill, and Treasurer Robert Scott.

The portrait of Mr Wood by Tavernor Knott was the outcome of a public subscription on the occasion of that gentleman retiring from the Council and the Provostship in November 1879, after seventeen years active public service. The presentation of the portrait to the Corporation, coupled with a gift of silver-plate to Mrs Wood, in recognition of the esteem in which she and the family have long been held in the town, was made in the Council room before a large muster of friends in January 1883, the presentation being eloquently performed by his successor in office, ex-Provost Hunter, and accepted by Provost Christian, who both referred in eulogistic terms to the indefatigable exertions Mr Wood had put forth during a long period of years for the improve-

ment of his adopted town. The presentation to Mrs Wood made by Bailie Buchan on behalf of the subscribers, in a most felicitous speech, was suitably acknowledged by Mr Wood.

At the municipal election in November 1877 there was for almost the first time in the history of the burgh no contest, those nominated being returned unopposed. These were Mr A. W. Buchan, Mr Alexander Gray, and Mr Alexander Brand. Bailie William Hunter, who succeeded to the Provostship, was a somewhat remarkable man, and as he has now passed over to the majority, a few words as to his career may not be out of place. Born on the 4th October 1808 in the town of Biggar—where he received his early education, and as a lad evinced a taste for literature—he came to Edinburgh in 1830 to prosecute his studies at the University, giving some of his time to teaching. He attended the class of Professor Pillans, the Greek class of Professor Dunbar, the Logic class of Rev. David Ritchie, and afterwards the Moral Philosophy class of Professor John Wilson. In the first-named his ability as a writer was shown by his carrying off the prize for the best essay on the reported form of Latin speech. He was for some years engaged as a teacher in the Edinburgh Institution, but in 1846 he left it to conduct the *Scottish Herald*, which had greatly fallen off in circulation, and which shortly afterwards, through the bankruptcy of the proprietor, ceased to exist. For the next five or six years Mr Hunter wrote a good deal professionally for the press, but this proving precarious he in 1853 joined Mr George Ingram as clerk and assistant, first at Abercorn Brickworks and then at West Bank Brickworks. On Mr Ingram's death a few years after, he conducted the works for his son, and eventually he carried them on on his own account. Having been initiated a Freemason in connection with the Edinburgh Journeyman Lodge, No. 8, he was in 1854—only two years after—raised to the chair, a position which he held for four years. During that time he initiated no less than 160 members. On his retirement he was presented with a gold watch and appendages, and a Mason's jewel. Shortly after his connection with the Portobello Lodge his abilities singled him out as a suitable man for the Mastership, and we accordingly find him called upon in 1861 to fill this position, which he did with credit to himself and honour to the Lodge for the four following years.

Mr Hunter's literary activity was in no way lessened by the amount of public and private work put upon him at this time. When editor of the *Scottish Herald* he had written a paper giving an account or John Knox's house, Netherbow Port, which it had been proposed to demolish in order to widen the street. The leaders of the Free Church, who afterwards purchased the house in order to its preservation, were so pleased with the paper that it was printed in a separate form and distributed widely. He also wrote a history of the Scott Monument, which was for a number of years sold as a guide book. In 1856 he wrote a guide book to Edinburgh and vicinity for Messrs J. & W. Macdowall, illustrated with maps and engravings, which had a large sale. In 1858 he published a small book as "A vindication of Free Masonry from the charges recently brought against it by *Medicus*." Besides these efforts in prose he occasionally indulged in verse, and a few of his pieces showing considerable merit, have appeared in the press from time to time. The work upon which his fame will longest rest however is his history of his native place. In 1860, he delivered a lecture in Biggar, at the Biggar Athenæum, on some historical passages connected with that town. Mr Adam Sym of Culter Mains, was present, and at the close, suggested that the lecture might be still further elaborated and published. This led to an intimate acquaintance with that gentleman, who was a local antiquary of some repute. Mr Hunter was encouraged to go on with his researches, and the outcome of the lecture was the publication in 1862 of a large octavo volume under the title *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, which he dedicated to Mr Sym. It is a well-written book, and treats the subject in a thoroughly exhaustive and able manner.

In recognition of the public service he had done in calling attention to this hitherto out-of-the-way locality, Mr Hunter was entertained on 23rd December following to a public dinner in Biggar, attended by a large number of the leading people in the place; his friend Mr Sym acting as chairman. An account of the proceedings was afterwards issued in pamphlet form. The first edition of the History of Biggar was speedily taken up, and a second edition called for, which was published by Wm. Paterson, Edinburgh, in 1867. As a member of Portobello Council for some years and latterly as a Bailie, Mr Hunter had done good service, and it was considered fitting that he should be chosen in



MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS, PORTOBELLO.
(From a Photo. by Mr Robert Fraser, Portobello.)

1879 to occupy the place of honour in succession to Mr Wood, an office which he filled with considerable dignity till November 1882.

During that period the much-needed paving of the High Street was completed by the Tramways Company. The improvement of the drainage of the town by ventilation was carried out, and an effort was made to have the boundaries of the burgh extended. A resolution was in 1881 passed empowering the Magistrates to exercise the functions and authority of a Dean of Guild Court within the burgh in accordance with the powers and jurisdiction conferred on them by the General Police and Improvement Act of 1862. But what perhaps absorbed most of the attention of the Council was a legal difficulty between them and the City of Edinburgh, as to the purification of the Figgate Burn, extending over several years, at considerable expense and trouble to both Corporations. The First and Second Bailies during this period were respectively Mr Henry D. Cook, formerly a Civil Commissioner in India, and Mr A. W. Buchan, Pottery Manufacturer. The former died in June 1882, and was succeeded by Mr Alexander Gray as Bailie.

Provost Huuter was succeeded by Major Hugh Christian. This gentleman had served with distinction in the Army throughout the Indian Mutiny, and on his retirement from military life devoted himself to furthering the welfare of his adopted town; in all political, and social matters taking an active part in its prosperity; caring much for the welfare of the poor; and heartily sharing in every philanthrophic effort. The first year of his Provostship was signalised by the division of the town into Wards for Parliamentary and Municipal Election purposes. This was carried out by a special court appointed by the Secretary of State, consisting of Provost Christian, the Sheriff of the Lothians, and ex-Provost Wood, who met on 19th February 1883, and adjusted the boundaries of the wards and determined the location of the existing Councillors and their date of retirement from office. The number of wards was fixed to be three, with three representatives from each ward, one representative from each to retire yearly. At the November election in the first or West Ward, and in the second or Middle Ward there was no contest, Bailie Alexander Gray being returned for the former and interim Bailie Brand for the latter. In the East Ward, Mr Robert Thomson was opposed by Mr Alex. Scott, but was returned by a majority.

About this time the town was deprived of the services of two of its oldest officials. The resignation of Mr William S. Smart as assessor for the burgh, an office which he had held for thirty years, and the death of Mr Robert Scott, who, as treasurer and collector, had faithfully served the town for about thirty-seven years, taking place in June and July 1885. The former was succeeded by his son, Mr James Smart, while Mr A. M'Intosh for a few months, and afterwards Mr Alex. Brand, took the office of Treasurer. Ex-Provost Hunter, who by this time had retired from business, was appointed collector of rates.

In November of this year ex-Bailie Tait made an effort to return to office, but was defeated in the first ward by Mr Alexander M'Intosh by a large majority, while Provost Christian and Mr David Grieve were returned by the second and third wards unopposed.

Provost Christian was therefore re-elected to the Provostship for another period of three years.

About this time it was discovered that the Council had been using their official public seal for some years, with coat of arms inscribed, without the legal authority of the Lyon King at Arms. On the matter coming before this high functionary, the Council found themselves involved in a liability of £50, but as the error committed had evidently been done by inadvertence, a new patent of arms was granted in favour of the Magistrates and Council in April 1886.

Hitherto Portobello Magistrates had not been distinguished by any outward habiliments, with the exception of gold chains and badges, but it was considered fitting that on the occasion of a State visit of Her Majesty the Queen in 1886, to the Edinburgh International Exhibition in this year, to which the Magistrates were invited, they should be suitably bedecked with robes of office.

The wisdom of thus keeping pace with the times and with the authorities of other municipalities was further illustrated when in June 1886 Provost Christian was invited to attend the service in Westminster Abbey connected with the Jubilee celebration of the Queen's accession to the throne.

At the service held the same day in St Giles' Church, Edinburgh, Bailie Thomson and Bailie M'Intosh in their robes, with Treasurer Brand and Mr Bryson, represented the community of Portobello.

Provost Christian did much during his second term of office to keep up the dignity of the burgh, and to improve its amenity. The paving and lighting of the streets were well looked after; police regulations were vigilantly enforced, and, thanks largely to his indefatigable exertions, the North British Railway were at last induced to erect the present handsome and commodious station in place of the ruinous collection of sheds which for years had been a standing reproach to the respectability of the town.

In recognition of his services he was accorded the honour of a public banquet in the Town Hall, at which, in addition to a large gathering of townsmen, representatives from the Municipalities of Edinburgh, Leith, and Musselburgh did honour to the occasion. This took place in November 1887, and was one of the most brilliant events of the kind ever held in the town. Ex-Provost Wood presided, and referred in flattering terms to Major Christian's public spirit and many other good qualities.



MAJOR CHRISTIAN.

Major Christian was in 1888 re-elected Provost for a third period of three years, but the validity of his return to the Council having been called in question (rather ungraciously most people thought) in consequence of his neither residing nor carrying on business within the bounds of the burgh, he was found by the Court of Session disqualified to act; and to the great regret of the bulk of the community he resigned a post he had for over six years filled with credit to himself and advantage to the town.

Major Christian's withdrawal from the Council in May 1887 in compliance with the decision of the Law Courts led of course to complications. Parties in the Council were divided, and the complications were further increased by the death immediately after of Mr Daniel Simpson, one of the Councillors. There were thus two vacancies; one in the Middle Ward to fill Major Christian's place as an illegal appointment, and an interim appointment to be filled by the Council. For the first, ex-Provost Wood and ex-Bailie Gray were brought forward for the Middle Ward, and the question was generally understood to be one as to who was to be Provost. After a keen contest the seat fell to ex-Provost Wood by 255 votes to 250 recorded for his opponent. This exactly balanced parties, for when the election by the Council of an interim Councillor was brought up and two were proposed, viz., Mr Peter Whitelaw and Mr John Gray, there were found to be four for each, and the former was chosen by the casting vote of Bailie Thomson who presided as Senior Magistrate. At the next meeting, on 19th June, both ex-Provost Wood and Bailie Thomson were proposed for the Provostship, the latter being elected by five votes to four. For the vacant Bailieship which followed, Mr David Grieve and Mr Alexander Brand was proposed and again there was equality, the matter being decided by Provost Thomson's casting vote in favour of Mr Grieve.

During the two years and a half that Provost Thomson ruled over the Burgh its affairs were carefully managed and its interests protected. He was most attentive to anything coming under the control of the Council, devoting an hour or two every day in attendance at the Municipal Buildings. Among other matters of a routine nature the question of providing an Hospital for the Burgh came up for settlement. It was ultimately resolved in August 1889, with the approval of the Board of Supervision, to erect a Cottage Hospital provided with eight beds in two wards, with accommodation for a caretaker, for the Burgh and the Landward part of the Parish of Duddingston alone, at a cost of about £1100—the Landward Local Authority paying one eighth of the expense. The building was erected some distance from the town on a picturesque spot on the Niddrie Road, close to the Niddrie or Magdalene Burn, and though small, has frequently been of great service in cases of epidemic troubles.

Another matter was the completion of the sea wall of the Promenade from Bath Street westward to Pipe Street. The Council, not seeing their way to complete this part of the work as now standing eastward to Joppa, a movement was started among the merchants to have it done with or without the Council, and so interested were the townspeople in the matter that in a short time the sum of £200 was raised by public subscription and offered to the Council to complete the sea wall, provided they took over the whole promenade as a public roadway and put it in a proper condition for foot passengers. This proposal was accordingly accepted and the whole laid from end to end with asphalte pavement after the model of paving at Scarborough Promenade, at a cost of about £1000. In the summer of 1891 the work was completed, and instead of dust and loose gravel to which visitors had been too long accustomed, its surface now presents a smooth and pleasant footing.

Another matter which had for a number of years been a source of trouble and annoyance was finally adjusted in 1888-89. This was the question of the purification of the Figgate Burn—a stream which though it passes through only a small part of the town has given its name to the district on which it is built and has in consequence, frequently been referred to in these annals. A few more particulars may not here be out of place, leading up as they do to more important issues.

In the spring of 1875 complaints began to be frequent regarding the increasing pollution of the Figgate Burn, and though the burn may be said to be at the extreme west end of the town, and passes comparatively few houses, it was considered that an effort should be made to mitigate if not to stop the nuisance, and if possible restore the stream to its original purity. In its short course of ten miles from the Pentland Hills the burn is known by various names and is joined by one or two tributaries. Originally known as the Braid Burn, it wends its way by Braid and Blackford Hills towards Duddingston, receiving first the limpid waters of a tributary of which Ballantyne sings in his well-known sonnet—

> "Bonny Bonally's wee winding stream
> Murmurs and sobs like a child in a dream."

Passing between Braid and Blackford hills through the picturesque grounds of the Hermitage, it takes a sharp turn northward

at Liberton Dams and Nether Liberton, doing duty to the various mills in that locality. After skirting the grounds of Inch House, the stream is in a measure lost in the extensively irrigated meadows east of Cameron Bridge—once known as Cameron Myre or Moor, where, as has been stated, the monks of Kelso and their tenants of Duddingston long had the right to dig for peats —and it is joined by the Jordon or Powburn passing through Newington. At Peffer Mill the Braid Burn is slow and sluggish in its course, passing as it does through level ground. Here it receives the overflow from Duddingston Loch, and finds its way into the wooded policies of Duddingston House about 200 yards from the Railway Station on the Suburban line. After a circuitous route through the grounds—where at one time it was wont to develop here and there into broad lakelets and beautiful cascades —it emerges at Duddingston Mills, to be known no longer as the Braid but as the Figgate Burn. Its after career is uneventful, and at last it falls into the sea close to the old Harbour of Portobello.

The complaint made was that the Jordon or Powburn had been literally converted into an open sewer for the Newington district, and that nearly one-sixth part of the sewage of Edinburgh was thus thrown into the Braid or Figgate Burn and carried through Portobello. After frequent remonstrances and threats by Provost Wood to the Town Council authorities of Edinburgh, the latter body at length instructed their Engineer to report upon the whole question. He did so in July 1875, and in the following month the Committee of the Portobello Town Council submitted to the latter body an elaborate report thereupon in which they took exception to many of the statements made by him, and particularly his opinion that "sanitary considerations cannot be urged as necessitating the construction of works for carrying the sewage of the southern portion of the city direct to the sea." The Committee held that the City of Edinburgh were acting illegally in contaminating the Figgate Burn, and urged upon them the propriety of having the danger from epidemics arising from its pollution removed before the evil was further aggravated.

Nothing further was done, however, until September 1877 when the Council again called the attention of the Edinburgh authorities to the subject, and received the reply that "it would be taken up and dealt with in the new Police Bill now under consideration." In consequence of Edinburgh still continuing to

drain into the burn, it was in May resolved, on the motion of the Provost, to take legal proceedings under the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act of 1876 to put an end to the continuance of the nuisance. Intimation was accordingly made to the Edinburgh Town Council that such would be done, but that body, on the advice of their Law Committee, denied liability for the pollution. After protracted legal correspondence, the question was at length tried in the Sheriff Court before Sheriff-Substitute Hallard on 3rd May 1880. His Lordship decided against Portobello; holding that the Figgate Burn did not fall within the definition of the word "streams" in the Act. He therefore held them liable in expenses. On appeal to the Sheriff-Principal this decision was reversed. In July 1882 the Edinburgh Town Council appealed from this to the Second Division of the Court of Session, where it was debated at great length.

Eventually the case was decided against the City of Edinburgh, the Magistrates of which were thus compelled to construct a new system of drainage for the southern part of the city. This was done according to plans by Mr Cooper, the city engineer, after receiving the consent of Parliament. By this arrangement the Powburn sewage is carried in a culvert extending from Newington Cemetery on the Dalkeith Road to the sea midway between Portobello and Leith, the distance traversed being about four miles. On account of the works in connection with the construction of the Suburban Railway a culvert had to be provided for the sewage of the district, which was then carried along the Jordon Burn as far as Duddingston Mills, where a new sewer leaves the course of the stream and strikes northward through Duddingston and Craigentinny estates, till as stated it reaches the sea. This of course was not effected without a considerable outlay, costing the City of Edinburgh something like £40,000. Whether the Figgate Burn will ever recover its ancient fame as a good trouting stream it is difficult to say. It is certainly purer than it was possible for it to be before these extensive works were carried through, and there is no reason to doubt the fact that now any enthusiastic disciple of Izaak Walton may enjoy good sport on its banks, and secure a fair basket of fish as the reward of his exertions and patience.

Provost Thomson's short tenure of office as Chief Magistrate of the Burgh came to a close in November 1891, and as he did not seek re-election, the honour of again occupying the chair was by

unanimous consent conferred upon the veteran, Mr Thomas Wood, who with all the energy of his nature, applied himself to the duties of the office with fresh enthusiasm.

The want of a Public Park was long felt after the unfortunate closing of the Links at Pitt Street in 1877. Several proposals had been made to provide suitable ground, but land in the neighbourhood was expensive and difficult to acquire by purchase. The Town Council eventually succeeded in renting for ten years, sixteen acres of ground between Hope's Lane and Brunstane Road. The field is certainly not large and is far from adequate to the requirements of the population, but it has been a great boon and is largely taken advantage of for recreation purposes, and it is only right to acknowledge that it was largely due to the liberality of Mr Wood that this ground was acquired for the use of the public. It was formally opened by him on 8th October 1892.

In November 1894 Mr Wood retired finally from the Council, after serving the community for over twenty-two years as Councillor and Provost, and was succeeded by Bailie Brand, the First and Second Bailies being respectively Mr David Grieve and Mr Robert Kellock. The retirement of Provost Wood was made the occasion for a public banquet in his honour a few months afterwards, which took place on the 10th April 1895 in the Town Hall, and was attended by a large and representative gathering comprising members of the Corporations of Edinburgh, Leith, and Musselburgh, most



PROVOST WOOD.

of the clergymen and medical men of the town, along with the principal professional and commercial classes of the community. The hall was tastefully decorated for the occasion, and presented a brilliant appearance—a large number of ladies occupying the galleries. The meeting was presided over by Provost Brand, who was supported by Lord Provost M'Donald, while a large number of magistrates, councillors, and other dignitaries, from Edinburgh, Leith, Musselburgh, and other places, graced the proceedings with their presence.

Councillor Smart, in proposing the toast of the evening, referred at some length to Mr Wood's long public career, his eminent services, not only to his adopted town, but to the city of Edinburgh, particularly in connection with the water supply of the district. Then followed the presentation of a handsomely bound volume containing an illuminated address in gold and colours, in which the leading features of Mr Wood's work was narrated, and the hope expressed that he might long be spared to his family and to the community. This document bears the signatures of many others beside those who were present at the banquet. The various speeches made on the occasion all breathed the same cordial appreciation and goodwill, and the ceremonial was a brilliant and fitting termination to a long public career.

Portobello since its erection to the standing of a Parliamentary burgh in 1833 had progressed, as we have attempted to show, with a rapidity quite remarkable in population and in importance as a residential suburb of Edinburgh—railway and tramway facilities contributing largely to this. The time was, in the early part of the century, when even incorporation with the city was thought advisable for the sake of police protection; but with separate autonomy its innate powers of self-government had within the intervening sixty-five years succeeded fairly well in developing the resources of the place, and making it more and more to be sought after. Of this we have abundant evidence in these facts that while in 1851 the population was only 3497, now it is 9000. In 1851 the valuation of the rental of the burgh was only £15,000; now it is over £53,000.

CHAPTER XXV.

AMALGAMATION WITH EDINBURGH.

IF at times in the management of Portobello municipal affairs, there was the appearance of fiery asperity at its Council board, or at the annual elections an amount of partizan excitement that might sometimes be regretted, these were only evidences of popular interest in the public welfare, and it was seldom that anything like personal feeling or animosity was kept up. The many social clubs existing in the town, bringing as they do opposing politicians into friendly contact, have developed a kindly feeling among the people, and even among rivals for office, which is one of the best features of our age ; while proximity to the capital has done much to broaden local views and sympathies beyond the merely provincial. Still, Portobello people had no thought of closer identity with Edinburgh. The proposal for a common identity emanated from the city in a letter to the Town Council from the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, dated 19th September 1894, submitting a memorandum and outline of a scheme of amalgamation of Edinburgh, Leith, and Portobello, and the intermediate areas, with a recommendation that communication be entered into with the authorities interested with a view to a conference taking place in Edinburgh on an early date. To the present Lord Provost, Mr Mitchell Thomson, the credit is due of conceiving and working out this scheme, afterwards embodied in the bill submitted to Parliament, and which he succeeded in persuading the Edinburgh Town Council to adopt. It is doubtful when this communication was received, if it was really looked upon as a serious proposal by the Town Councillors of Portobello. We rather think it was regarded as too large an order, and by no means practicable. The letter was remitted to the Provost's Committee and nothing more was heard of it for fully a year, though in the interval steps had been taken to get an order in Council from Her Majesty's Secretary for Scotland authorising a disjunction of a portion of the parish of

South Leith situated west of the Figgate Burn to the King's Road to be united to and to form part of the Parish of Duddingston, and within the boundary of the Burgh of Portobello. This change took effect 15th May 1895.

Portobello officials were not really disturbing themselves much about Edinburgh's arrangements, and so far as we can learn had not even replied to their first overtures. But the expansion of the city and the adjustment of its future boundaries were exercising all the energies and ingenuity of its active chief magistrate, Lord Provost M'Donald. On the 11th October 1895 a second letter was addressed to the Portobello Town Council, sending a copy of a draft bill to be promoted by Edinburgh in the ensuing session of Parliament for carrying out the proposed amalgamation of Edinburgh with Leith and Portobello, in which it was stated by the Town Clerk—Mr Thomas Hunter:—"I am further instructed to express the earnest desire of this Corporation for the friendly co-operation of the Town Council of Portobello in the promotion of the bill, and to say that my Corporation will be very glad to receive any suggestions on the proposals in the draft, and that any such suggestions will receive most careful and friendly consideration, with every disposition on the part of my Corporation to meet the views of the parties interested in the bill. I am also desired," he said, "to express the hope that an early opportunity may be afforded for a personal meeting and amicable discussion between the members of your Corporation and mine on the subject of the Bill, and with that view my Corporation will be ready at any time which may be arranged as convenient for all parties to meet you and any members of your Council."

At the November election Mr W. S. Smart declined to come forward for re-election, and his place was taken by Mr Samuel Carmichael; the other two retiring Councillors, viz., Mr George Balfour and Bailie Robert Kellock, were returned without opposition, for as yet the question of amalgamation was not a "burning" one, and was not seriously considered as within the range of practical politics. Indeed the general feeling among the townspeople seemed to be that as the town had got on very well under its own local management for so many years it was difficult to see what great advantage was to be gained by its absorption into Edinburgh. The loss of its individuality and municipal importance was indeed held by many to be a great sacrifice to make for

any supposed advantages that could be offered. But as the discussion on the matter proceeded, and various terms and conditions came to be suggested, the *pros* and *cons*—the advantages and disadvantages began to be weighed against one another with a good deal of feeling. Nor was this confined to the Council, for as Edinburgh proceeded with her measure and the nature of the bill proposed to be laid before Parliament became known, the subject was well discussed out of doors. On the 13th January 1896 the bill was formally tabled, and the Council were thus called upon to pronounce upon the course of action to be pursued on behalf of Portobello. Leith Corporation had emphatically determined to oppose the measure so far as it affected that town, but in Portobello, while the bulk of public opinion was possibly rather adverse than favourable, it was still a question which the Council as such was prepared to entertain provided the advantages to be offered were at all adequate to the loss of autonomy. The Council were practically at one in insisting that they should at least be heard in the adjustment of the bill before the House of Commons' Committee. On 25th February the Chairman's Committee reported that they had lodged a petition against it, of which printed copies were tabled, and that they had had an interchange of views with the Committee in charge of the bill, in which both sides had stated and formulated their proposals. These were made of course without prejudice and on the understanding that they were not to be founded on in the event of no amalgamation being come to. The whole of the proceedings up to this point were thereafter submitted to the ratepayers in an elaborate report signed by the Provost. In this statement it was mentined that so far as Portobello was concerned, amalgamation with the City could not be said to be a necessity, the affairs of the burgh having been well administered and its finances being in a satisfactory condition. But though that was so, and the rate of assessment in Portobello was twopence in the pound less than in Edinburgh, still there were grounds for entertaining the view that the future prosperity of the place would be increased by amalgamation with the city, if carried through on fair and equitable terms. In this report eight conditions were laid down for the benefit and protection of the ratepayers which it was proposed should be scheduled in the Act by special agreement—the principal of these being that until the year 1900 the burgh should be represented in the new Council by

nine members, elected by the three existing wards. At 1900 the enlarged city to be redivided into twenty-one wards, of which Portobello and the landward part of the parish of Duddingston would form one ward, to be called the Portobello Ward, to be represented by three members. For a period of seven years from May 1896 the burgh assessments not to exceed the present rate of two shillings per pound; while Edinburgh undertakes to provide a public park of not less than forty acres, public baths, a bowling green, shelters on the beach, extension of the Promenade westward across the Figgate Burn, the reconstruction of the footpaths with concrete, the maintenance of a police station, police courts, slaughter-house, and the fever hospital, with a promise of cheaper gas, and electric light on the same terms as the suburban districts of the city. By many these terms were considered very satisfactory, but there were not a few dissatisfied ones, both in and out of the Council. It was accordingly resolved that after the circulation of this report meetings should be held in each ward of the burgh in order to formally ascertain the views of the ratepayers on the subject for the guidance of the Town Council in further dealing with the bill before the Parliamentary Committee. On the 9th March reports from these various largely-attended meetings, where the questions involved were fully discussed, were submitted to the Council, when it transpired that while two of the wards—East and Middle Wards—"approved of the principle of the bill," "subject to the terms and conditions of such agreement as the Council thinks necessary to make," the West Ward, led by Mr Alfred Nichol and Mr George Balfour, who were strongly opposed to amalgamation, "considered the proposed amalgamation inexpedient, and instructed the Town Council to take steps to secure the rejection of the bill, so far as it relates to Portobello." In order still further to elicit the views and wishes of the community before taking decided action, a plebiscite was taken. Papers were sent to every ratepayer, but as usually happens a considerable number were indifferent and failed to return them, while of those which were returned it was found curiously enough that the majority of 209 against amalgamation in the West Ward was exactly the same as the combined majorities in the East and Middle Wards in favour of the scheme. Now came the tug-of-war. Two of the representatives of the West Ward—Messrs Nichol and Balfour—felt themselves compelled to obey the wishes

of their constituents, but one of them—Mr Alexander Stuart—who did not so view the question, resigned his seat. Other two members differed from the majority in their wards, and the result was that the Council was equally divided, so that a motion of Provost Brand that "a special committee be appointed to continue the negotiations with the Town Council of Edinburgh with a view to the adjustment of a satisfactory agreement," was met by a counter motion by Councillor Nichol "to instruct the Clerk to take such steps as may be necessary to secure the rejection of the bill," with the result that the first motion was only carried by the Provost's casting vote; Mr Nichol dissenting and protesting.

The Special Committee, consisting of Provost Brand and Bailie Grieve, reported the result of their further negotiations on 2nd April in a long and exhaustive minute of agreement prepared by Mr R. P. Stevenson, the Town Clerk, and revised by the Town Clerk of Edinburgh. In this final document, which recapitulated under eighteen heads the former agreement, a number of additional conditions were included to the further advantage of the burgh; among others being stipulations to provide a public hall for meetings and concerts sufficient to accommodate eight hundred persons; the causewaying of the high road to the east end of Joppa, and Bath Street; and that £4000 be expended on the improvement of the sanitary condition of Pipe Street and lanes adjacent.



PROVOST BRAND.

After a long discussion this was approved of, but only by the casting vote of the Provost; a counter motion by Mr Nichol

again receiving the support of four members—the voting being for the motion, Messrs Brand, Grieve, Kellock, and Carmichael, and for the amendment Messrs Nichol, Balfour, A. Gray, and Clark. Notwithstanding the protest of Councillor Nichol, "the Clerk was instructed to go to London with Provost Brand and Bailie Grieve to attend the hearing of the Bill before the Parliamentary Committee, and to act with them in carrying out the remit." Hitherto the onus of responsibility lay largely upon the Provost, and his steadfast adherence to his convictions in face of much opposition subjected him to some obliquy at the time. It was not a pleasant position to be in, and accordingly in order to fill the vacant seat at the Board and so secure a majority one way or the other, both parties now did their utmost to select a new member favourable to their views. Two gentlemen were brought forward. One of these, Mr Wm. Gray of the Tower, had a memorial in his favour signed by a large number of electors in the West Ward, strongly recommending the Council to elect him. As Mr Gray was known to be against amalgamation his nomination at the following meeting on 21st April was met by the nomination by the Provost of Mr John B. S. Drever, who was carried by five votes to three, Mr Clark voting with the amalgamationists for the first time, and so turning the scale. Two days later the Council, by six votes to two—Councillor A. Gray being absent—confirmed the agreement with Edinburgh adopted on 2nd April, which was subsequently (on 15th April) confirmed by the Edinburgh Council. Meanwhile the battle was being fiercely fought out before the Parliamentary Committee in London between the Corporations of Leith and Edinburgh, the former authority urging their objections with so much vehemence that ultimately the Committee decided that the promoters had failed to prove the Preamble to the Bill so far as it related to the burgh of Leith and the landward part of the Parish of Duddingston. As these formed by far the larger part of the extension scheme, it was thought the Bill would be withdrawn, and the promoters were asked what they intended to do regarding Portobello in these circumstances. On the 9th May Portobello Town Council was hastily summoned to hear a letter from the Edinburgh Town Clerk, then in London, to the effect that the Edinburgh Corporation, notwithstanding what had happened, wished to abide by the agreement with Portobello, and proposing to go on with the Bill providing that till 1900

the burgh should have three wards with three representatives each, and that with regard to the Water Trust the two members from Portobello be elected by the enlarged Council. This was agreed to, on the motion of Bailie Kellock, though it was again met by the ever resolute Councillor Nichol with a motion that no agreement for amalgamation be entertained.

The Bill passed the Committee of the Commons early in June, and came before the Committee of the House of Lords on 8th July. The opposition in the Council was now reduced to three members, two of them representing the West Ward, but this in no way appeared to damp their endeavours, for a movement was organised by them, with sympathisers outside the Council, to send up a deputation to London to appear as witnesses in the case before the Lords. This was in face of a resolution of the Council to petition the Committee against any such alterations on the Bill as would interfere with the agreements made between the Councils of Edinburgh and Portobello, which, it may here be mentioned, had been calculated as in all probability involving a total expenditure by the new Council of £54,000 upon improvements to be effected in Portobello.

The promoters had now a very good case, and could afford to be generous, and so when the deputation styling itself as representing "the inhabitants, owners, occupiers, and ratepayers of Portobello" appeared no opposition was made to their obtaining a *locus standi*. Ex-Provost Christian, Councillors Nichol, Balfour, and Wm. Gray of the Tower were accordingly examined as witnesses, but their evidence did not appear to affect the desirability of the measure as being one for the public good, and their Lordships, having expressed themselves thoroughly satisfied, did not require further evidence to rebut their statements, though a large number of witnesses were at hand for the purpose. They did not even ask the petitioners' counsel to reply, and accordingly found the preamble proved. The measure shortly after received the Royal assent, 7th August 1896, and on the 1st November the Provost, Magistrates, and Council of Portobello ceased to exist as a separate Corporation. The last public meeting of the Council took place on Friday, 30th October, on which occasion there were present in addition to the members, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Bailie Kinloch Anderson, Treasurer M'Crae, Mr Hunter,

the Town Clerk, Mr Robert Paton, City Chamberlain, and Mr Morham, City Architect. Suitable arrangements were made for the employment of the various officials of the burgh in the city, while Mr R. P. Stevenson, Town Clerk, in recognition of his many years of service in the town's interest, was awarded a retiring allowance for life.

Provost Brand, who presided, in the course of a short valedictory speech, in which he welcomed the Lord Provost of the city with the other members of the Edinburgh Corporation, said that it was not from any want of natural ability that Portobello had united her destinies to Edinburgh. She had men who were quite able to conduct her affairs, and had done so for many years past, and her progress had been equal to that of any town in Scotland in population, in wealth, and in rental. In his opinion, however, for a good many years past it had been perfectly evident that their close connection with Edinburgh rendered it desirable that they should unite their forces for the purpose of either fighting the evils that were to be fought, or in promoting those interests which were necessary and desirable for the welfare of the inhabitants." The Lord Provost, in reply, spoke of the very pleasant relations with them in bringing this amalgamation about, and expressed the hope that any difference of opinion that had existed in the past would disappear, and that they would all act together in one desire to carry out the general improvement of Greater Edinburgh. Other gentlemen having expressed their satisfaction at the happy conclusion of the proceedings and the hope that they would all be returned to Edinburgh Council, the Council was closed.

Since the day when the municipal existence of Portobello ended, and it became part and parcel of Greater Edinburgh, it is only right to say that the Town Council have so far loyally fulfilled the obligations under which they came, and that improvements are being carried out, and arrangements made which will add much to the attractiveness of the town as a seaside resort. With beautifully paved streets, new baths, bowling greens, public gardens, and parks, a public library and reading-room housed in the elegant Municipal Buildings, an earnest has been given of what may in the future be expected in the further adornment of this fringe of Scotland's fair capital.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PORTOBELLO MANUFACTURES—PAST AND PRESENT.

THE trade of Portobello has for the past hundred years been of a varied character. As we have already indicated in these pages, its principal and earliest products were derived from the excellent bed of clay found in the estuary of the Figgate Burn. Bricks and tiles, and afterwards the finer work of the potteries, have continued to be the staple commodities of the place ever since. It has not, however, been confined to these. The manufacture of soap, glass, felt hats, red and white lead, and mustard, in the early part of the century, furnished occupation to many work-people; but these industries have long since disappeared. At the present day brick and tile works, potteries, glass bottle works, and paper-making form the leading industries, while many are also engaged at the railway and gas works.

In tracing the rise and development of the town some of these manufactures have necessarily been noticed already, but a more detailed account of them will not be considered out of place by our readers.

THE BRICK AND TILE WORKS.

Of these, two are still in active operation, viz., Westbank Brickwork, and Abercorn Brickwork, while two, if not three, which were in active operation at the end of last century, have been wrought out, and the clay in their immediate vicinity being exhausted their sites have been converted to other purposes.

The first work of the kind was started by William Jameson, about the year 1765, on the north side of the high road from Edinburgh to Musselburgh immediately to the east of the Figgate Burn. It remained in his hands till about 1810, when it continued to be wrought by Mr Morton as his tenant, till the clay becoming exhausted, the place was filled up by rubbish principally from Edinburgh, and the houses now forming Pipe Street and Bridge Street were erected on the ground.

Simultaneously with the Pipe Street work, probably about the year 1780, Mr Jameson had opened a large clay bed on the site now occupied by Mount Lodge at the top of Windsor Place. The works must have covered a large area of ground, the whole space from Hope's Lane to the west side of Windsor Place being Mr Jameson's property.

In 1809-10 this work was discontinued, and several feus were then given off, forming a new Street called Nicholson Street, and at least in one plan, Jameson Street, but which ultimately came to be known as Windsor Place. A large quantity of rubbish and earth was brought to level up the excavations, and the present mansion having been erected for Colonel Scott, the grounds were laid out with great taste, the old clay pit being formed into a little artificial lake.

Another old Brick Work existed at the same time on the site now occupied by Henderson Row, but concerning it we have little authentic information, except that it was owned by Messrs R. and R. Dickson, sons of John Dickson, the contractor for the erection of the High School, Edinburgh. They made some changes in the locality, converting Mr W. Jameson's "elegant mansion" into a place little better than a brick shed, and built the range of houses in front of it on the High Street.

Of the existing works, Westbank Brick Work is the oldest.

The discovery of the bed of clay on the east side of the burn, by William Jameson, naturally led adjoining proprietors to realise the value of their property. Mr Miller of Craigentinny owned the ground on the west of the stream, which about the year 1770 was leased by Anthony Hillcoat, a bricklayer from Newcastle. During the thirty years or so that he carried on the works at Westbank he did an extensive business, not only as a brick and tile maker, but as a manufacturer of Prussian blue. The latter work seems to have been of an offensive nature, as an action was raised in the Court of Session in 1800 by Mr William Jameson "against the Messrs Hillcoats, to interdict them from carrying on upon the lands of Figgate, Portobello, the manufacture of Prussian blue, because of the nuisance connected with the blood from the shambles used in the manufacture." * He built Westbank House as his own residence. On his death, in 1803, Anthony Hillcoat was succeeded by his son Thomas Hillcoat, and Robert Hay, the

* *Court of Session Records.*

latter of whom had married (1796) Anthony's daughter Elizabeth.

Robert Hay, having been originally bred to a seafaring life, was more than once impressed into the navy during the war then raging on the continent. One day while working at the brick table he was suddenly pounced upon by the pressgang and was about to be carried off, but being covered with clay, and only partially dressed, he was escorted home so that he might put himself in order for the road. His bedroom being upstairs, he set refreshments before the officers and asked them to excuse his absence for a little till he got himself dressed. No sooner was he out of their sight than Hay dropped himself out of the window of his room and made for the country as fast as his legs would carry him. And so good a use did he make of his powers of locomotion that he succeeded in eluding their kind intentions for the time. The issue of his marriage with Miss Hillcoat was a son, John Hay, afterwards the proprietor of Rosebank Pottery adjoining, where he died in 1885, at the age of 89.

The next tenant of Westbank Works was Mr Alexander Guthrie, at one time a clerk to the Court of Justiciary. He was also at one time a bookseller in Waterloo Place, Edinburgh, and being in good circumstances he made a considerable addition to Westbank House. After his death the business was carried on, but with indifferent success, by his son—William Guthrie—who ultimately gave it up, and the works stood idle for some time.

In 1847 a lease of the place was acquired by Mr George Ingram, who conducted it with great vigour till his death in 1861. Mr Ingram, who belonged to Selkirk, where he was born in 1810, is described as "a man of generous sympathies and superior intellectual endowments." He was a teacher by profession, being a master in the Academy, Davie Street, Edinburgh, which he left in 1837 to be clerk to the Misses Creelman, the then lessees of the Abercorn Brick Works, an office which he held for about ten years, until he started for himself at Westbank.

During this period, the building trade being brisk, and there being a large demand for bricks, the works were highly remunerative, and Mr Ingram amassed a considerable sum of money.

On Ingram's death the works were carried on under the management of Mr William Hunter for behoof of his son, Alexander Ingram, and eventually on his own account. But a time of

depression in the building trade having ensued, and prices not yielding a remunerative return, he renounced the lease of the place in 1880. After standing some years idle Westbank was re-opened by Mrs Brodie Sheriff from Dunbar in 1884 for the manufacture of tiles, pipes, and even the finer kinds of pottery ware, including ornamental vases.

The present lessees since 1890, Messrs Peter Mitchell & Sons, are developing the trade on the old lines—bricks, tiles, and drain pipes forming a prominent feature of their manufacture, while pottery ware for gardens, such as flower pots, vases, and ornamental jars in terra cotta are made in considerable quantity.

The bricks, as in Abercorn Works, are dried by steam under cover—the exhaust steam from the engine, which used to be blown into the air, being utilised for this purpose—and in three days they are ready for the kiln instead of taking a month or so by the old process. The works are lighted by electricity, generated by an engine on the premises. Close upon a hundred men are employed.

ABERCORN BRICKWORK.

The earliest brick manufacturer west of the Figgate Burn on the Abercorn Estate was Mr Hamilton. He broke ground in a large field called Adams Laws about the end of last century.

Hamilton was succeeded by Mr Wm. Creelman probably in 1807 from the West of Scotland, who during a long occupancy of the works was a successful man of business. In addition to the manufacture of bricks he acquired in 1825 the Soap Work at the foot of Bridge Street, for many years carried on by George Morrison & Son.

On his death in 1830, at the age of seventy-five, the brickwork was carried on by his two daughters for a number of years, till about the year 1845, when Mr Allan Livingston acquired a lease. At that time he was carrying on an extensive manufacture of fire clay bricks at Joppa, and did a large trade, not only with Edinburgh but with London. He made, we are told, great quantities of fire-clay gas retorts for the London market, and in 1848, when the Edinburgh Gaswork chimney stalk was erected, the bricks were supplied by him.

Abercorn Brickwork continued to be carried on for some years after the death of Mr Livingston's son, Mr Allan Livingston, jun., who, at the time of his death, January 1867, was Provost of Portobello.

The business was taken over by Messrs Thomas Thornton and Sons, in 1882, by whom it was carried on till 1893, when it was acquired by Mr A. Scott Turner, and is now carried on under the designation of Turners, Limited. A feature of their work is the adoption of artificial drying of the bricks previous to being burned in the kiln. Instead of the old tedious method of drying in the open air, large covered drying-houses have been erected, so that brickmaking can be carried on without interruption summer and winter. For some years past the output of bricks has been close upon seven millions per annum, supplying Edinburgh and the south east of Scotland, and some are sent to Iceland. Glazed sanitary pipes, chimney cans, tiles, paving bricks, and even pottery ware are also produced in large quantities. The firm is the only one in Scotland who make flower pots by machinery—a very clever machine, patented by William West, a Leeds tailor, being used by them, which turns them out from a mould with great rapidity. As at Westbank, the works are lit by electricity. The average number of men employed is 100, and in summer about ten more.

POTTERIES.

The oldest of the Portobello potteries is that of Messrs W. A. Gray & Sons, at the foot of Pipe Street, now called the Midlothian Potteries. Its early history is involved in some obscurity, but so far as we can gather, the works seem to have been erected by William Jameson about the year 1786, and leased by him to Messrs Scott Brothers, who carried on the manufacture of white stoneware for a few years, and produced some work of a superior kind. Their dinner and desert services, ornamented with yellow designs, leaves, and even grotesque figures, being painted on chocolate coloured ground. They also dealt in mantelpiece ornaments, vases, flowered figures of soldiers, fishwives, &c., these, it is said, being made in considerable quantity.

Some of Scott's ware, with the mark impressed, is highly prized by connoisseurs, chiefly no doubt on account of its scarcity, and brings a high price in the market. After being closed for a while, the pottery was re-opened in 1795-96, and the white ware manufactory resumed by Messrs Cockson & Jardine of Edinburgh, upon the Staffordshire model, "and upon an enlarged and liberal plan." Skilled workers being employed from the earlier potteries of Prestonpans and Newbigging, the pottery was carried

on with success for a few years by the firm, who were succeeded by Mr Thomas Yoole about 1808.

He had two daughters, Janet and Grace, attractive young ladies. One day they happened to be visiting a large pottery in Glasgow with their father where a young man of the name of Rathbone was employed either as clerk or foreman. He was sent to show the young ladies over the premises, which he did with such good grace as to gain the permanent affections of one of them. In return he was asked to visit Portobello. He did so, and eventually they were married. Not long afterwards Mr Rathbone became a partner with his father-in-law in the Portobello works, and in 1810 a new lease was granted by the proprietor, Mr Jameson, "to Thomas Yoole and partners, under the name of Thomas Rathbone & Coy., stoneware manufacturers."

As Mr Jameson was in 1810 himself a maker of bricks, tiles, &c., provision was made in the lease that Mr Yoole "should not compete with him or his tenants in the manufacture of bricks, tiles, chimney cans, pavement, water pipes, pots for the manufacture of lead and sugar, and other such articles from clay."* Their principal output was plain ware, such as bowls, jugs, basons, jars, filters, &c. But besides these articles they did an extensive business in ornaments of a florid kind, their vases, yellow with brown spots, being richly embellished with leaves and occasionally figures. Ornamental jugs, cream pots, and other dishes, classic and rustic figures, male and female, as fishwives, soldiers, sailors, and shepherds for mantelpiece ornaments, found a ready market, being sent in carts and retailed in all parts among the country people. Cows, horses, and lions were favourite subjects, the latter particularly, modelled from the famous lions at the entrance to the Loggia de Lenzi at Florence, are still much in request by collectors. They also produced small plaques with raised pictorial subjects, sometimes coloured and glazed, but frequently in plain terra-cotta to be afterwards painted. In 1822 a small square plaque, 5 inches by 3½, with a portrait of George IV., was made at the pottery. Frame and plaque are in one piece, and underneath are the words "Welcome George IV." A much larger plaque—12 inches diameter and circular—probably made in 1842 on the occasion of Her Majesty's first visit to Scotland, represents the Queen on horseback with a page in atten-

* From original contract.

dance at the horse's head, but no inscription. Other figures on plaques are "Bacchus and Venus," "Flora," a man in armour on horseback, a winged lion, St Christopher leading a child, and a very curious one of the British Coat of Arms coloured. Our illustrations will give some idea of the variety of Rathbone's work. Some of it is certainly coarse, but the finer bits are noted for their high glaze and lustre, the purity, and even brilliance of the colouring, the blues, greens, and yellows being particularly effective. There is no doubt that this pottery ware was largely influenced by Staffordshire models; one of Rathbone's designers being a Stafford man named Waterston.

Thos. Rathbone & Coy. carried on the work for many years with varying success; a considerable trade was done in the early part of the century with Glasgow, and was continued down till about 1850 by Samuel Rathbone with a staff of about sixty men and thirty boys. The firm, however, got into monetary difficulties, and for a number of years there was a gradual falling off in their trade, and eventually the works were closed and stood for many years idle till 1856, when the property was acquired by Dr W. A. Gray, by whom, and especially by his son, Mr Alexander Gray, the fame of the potteries has been revived. An extensive home and foreign trade in jars, bottles, jugs, filters, and all kinds of white and brown stoneware is now carried on with much success, giving employment to about eighty operatives, of whom forty are females.

THE WAVERLEY POTTERIES.

The adjoining pottery has been used for various purposes. Originally built by Anthony Hillcoat about 1786, we find it about forty years afterwards converted into a soap work, carried on by Messrs Geo. Morrison & Son. About the year 1830 it was acquired by two brothers—Hugh and Arthur Cornwall—who began stoneware making, a speciality being large filters and jars in salt glaze work. Some of these were highly ornamented with figures of animals, hunting scenes, male and female figures, &c., in high relief. In the same strong ware they also made finely-modelled figures of horses, cows, &c., showing good artistic skill. These were uncoloured, being in plain brown glaze. This work was continued for some years by Mr Hugh Smith, under the firm of Milne, Cornwall, & Company, until about 1840, when the Pottery be-

came the property of Mr John Tough, from Newbigging Pottery, who, along with his son, Mr Thomas Tough, carried it on till about 1867, when Mr A. W. Buchan, the present proprietor, acquired a lease of the premises, and for ten years—viz., from 1868 till 1877—carried it on in partnership with Mr T. F. Murray, under the firm of Murray & Buchan, and with considerable enterprise speedily developed a most flourishing industry under the name of the "Waverley Potteries." Mr Murray retired in 1877, and Mr Buchan has since carried on the business under the designation of A. W. Buchan & Company. Larger and more commodious buildings were a few years ago erected by Mr Buchan on the adjacent vacant ground, on the site of the old Harbour of Portobello, which had been some years previously filled up, and ultimately the old premises were abandoned. Not being occupied for several years they fell almost into ruins, but the firm purchased them, and after a thorough restoration added them to their works. The whole premises now cover an area of about an acre and a-half. The clay used is all got from Devonshire, and the ware produced is very varied and of first-class quality. Some years ago the firm produced an ornamental ware called *Portobello faience*, which was characterised by excellency of colour and design, and which was in high repute as an art ware. The rapid extension of their other business led to the manufacture of this art ware being discontinued, and the firm are now actively engaged in the making of spirit jars, cream, meat, and extract jars, fancy jars, stoneware bottles for ale or porter (suitable for export), ink bottles, jam and honey jars, spittoons, and almost every conceivable form of hard-fired stoneware, a speciality being the printing on under glaze the name, trade marks and designs necessary in modern commerce. The business connection of the firm extends throughout Scotland, the north of England, and London, while a good foreign business is also carried on. As an evidence of the excellence of their output, the exhibits of Messrs A. W. Buchan & Company at recent International Exhibitions held in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Newcastle have earned for them commendations from the press and the public, and the highest awards of the Judges. Mr Buchan's eldest son, Mr Samuel Buchan, was assumed as a partner in 1890. There are close upon one hundred employés, of whom about fifty are young women. It may here be mentioned that part of the premises is occupied by the Waverley Electric

Works, established a few years ago, and carried on under the management of Mr Matthew Buchan.

ROSEBANK POTTERY.

This pottery was originally started by Edward and Alexander Colston as a brick and tile work in 1781, and where they also carried on the making of red paint. They were succeeded by a Mr Scott, and he again, at the beginning of the century, by a tavern keeper in the Royal Exchange, Edinburgh, named Dougald M'Ewan, who carried on the making of bricks for many years until his death, which must have taken place about 1828. In addition to this, he had a great passion for silver plate, a large quantity of which he had amassed at public and private sales, and which he was said to be in the habit of lending out to grace the dinner tables of the nobility and gentry in Edinburgh and throughout the country. M'Ewan Square, near the works, remains to perpetuate his name. We are told "he was a cheery and rather frolicsome gentleman." During the war with France, when martial feelings were strongly evoked both in old and young, he was a great patron of a regiment of Portobello juveniles, praising the well-behaved and bestowing rewards on the most expert at warlike evolutions. Foot racing with him was a favourite pastime, and with worthy Peter M'Arthur of the Black Bull Inn, just over the way, he frequently organised great matches at running, leaping, and other sports. His daughter, Miss M'Ewan, afterwards sold the property at Rosebank to a Mr Martin, Dundee. After this some changes took place in the boundaries, and Rosebank was fitted up and prepared to be occupied by Mr Reid of the Newbigging Pottery, Musselburgh, but circumstances intervened to prevent his occupation of it.

In 1830, Mr John Hay, the grandson of old Hillcoat of the Westbank Works, acquired the place, and started it as a Pottery for the making of strong domestic glazed ware, such as basins, jugs, bowls, jars of all sorts, also flower pots, vases, and the commoner ornaments to be found in country cottages and farm houses. At his death, in 1885, John Hay was succeeded by his sons, John and Thomas Hay, who still carry on a considerable trade in the same line with Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dundee.

As the clay is wrought out in the vicinity of the pottery, the firm now get their supply from Abercorn Brickfield and their finer clay from Devonshire. About forty employés are engaged.



Fig. 1.

1. Vase, 12 inches high by 6 inches at widest part. The bowl yellow with brown spots, stalk green, base ribbed in blue and white. Leaves finely modelled are tipped with neutral blue, a wreath of primroses surrounds the figure of a soldier standing erect. The property of Mr Humphries, Easter Duddingston Lodge. Purchased at sale of the late Mr Charles Jenner's effects. Rathbone's early ware.

2. Small mantelpiece ornament, 5½ inches. A man with drawn sword, supposed to be a Freemason, cross-legged, standing against a tree stem. Three groups of oak leaves surmount the figure with small flower in centre. The base is olive green, almost same colour as the leaves, while the figure is in blue coat, with white breeches and black boots. Colour chaste and good. Property of Mr T. H. Lee, Portobello. Rathbone.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

3. Fruit Dish—Chocolate ground, with sprays of ferns and leaves in yellow, highly glazed and very chaste. About 14 inches by 10. Black handled, finely modelled. In Industrial Museum, Edinburgh. Made by Scott Brothers, Portobello, about 1788.



Fig. 4.

4. Watch stand, representing a shackled slave appealing to Britannia seated on a lion. Two cupids on dwarf pillars support the stand, on top of which is the Royal Crown. Round the base is a Grecian pattern in a brilliant cobbalt blue, while the figure of the slave is black, Britannia fawn colour, and the pillars and frame in brown and white. The property of Miss Hay, Rosebank. Rathbone's ware, about 1820.

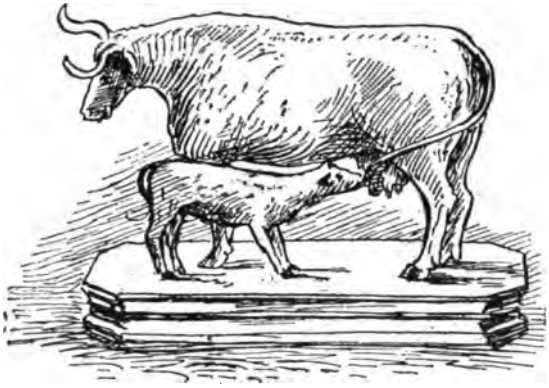


Fig. 5.

5. Cow and calf, 11½ by 7½ inches. Nicely modelled. Speckled grey, glazed; upper part of pedestal green to represent grass. Industrial Museum, Edinburgh. Rathbone's ware, about 1820.



6. Small plate. Curious. Surrounded by border of clam shells in brown pink. Flower in centre of conventional design. Property of Mr Robert Gibson, Pittville, Portobello. Supposed to be Rathbone's ware.

Fig. 6.

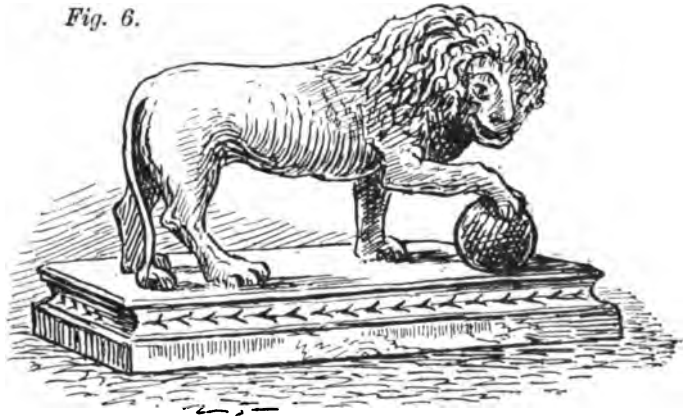


Fig 7.

7. Fine Florentine Lion in grey colour, highly glazed, 10½ by 7½ inches, well modelled and mounted on elegant base, round which is a wreath of olive leaves. Rathbone's ware. The property of Alexander Stuart, Esq., Edinburgh.

8. Strong brown salt-glaze jug with figures of dogs, &c., in relief. 10 inches high. Property of Miss Hay, Rosebank. Made by Messrs Milne, Cornwall, & Coy., Portobello, about 1835.

A somewhat similar jug, in simple brown glaze, by the same makers, shows a hunting scene, with horses and hounds in full cry after a stag, with figures of men drinking.



Fig. 8.

A figure of a horse with postilion at his head, by the same firm, is also an excellent piece of modelling. Specimens of these may be seen in the houses of some of the older inhabitants of Portobello.



Fig. 9.

9. Cream jug, 5½ inches by 3¾ at base, very chaste in design and colour good. Blue and yellow panels alternate, with flowers on each side. Inscription on front—"From Thomas and Isabella Wilson, 1843. (This Thomas Wilson was the proprietor of "Wilson's Park.") Rathbone's ware. The property of Mr William White, Portobello.

10. A pair of very elegant female figures, eight inches high, classically draped, leaning on obelisks, white and marbled with blue veins. Drapery pale yellow with small brown spots,



Fig. 10.



Fig. 10.

daintily tinted and effective. The top part of base green; edge, white and marbled. Highly glazed. Rathbone. The property of Mrs March, Portobello.

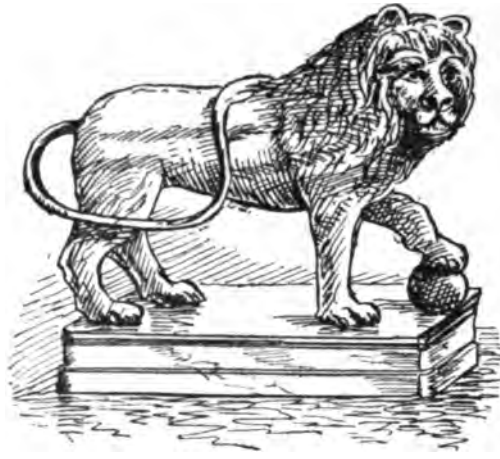


Fig. 11.

11. Another Lion in brown glaze, 10 inches by 8½ inches high at head. Head natural, but otherwise figure not so well modelled as No. 7. Supposed to be early work of Scott Brothers. Property of Alexander Stuart, Esq., Edinburgh.

THE BOTTLE WORKS.

The manufacture of glass bottles is an industry which has been carried on in Portobello for about fifty years. The works at Baileyfield were originally constructed at the north-west corner of a triangular field on the Abercorn Estate, called "Adams Laws," somewhere about the beginning of the century by a Mr Astley as chemical works, chiefly for the making of sulphuric acid, &c. In the plan of Portobello made in 1824, the works are simply called "Mr Astley's Works," but among the townspeople of that time they were popularly known as "the Secret Works," from the fact that none but employés were admitted within its gates. About the year 1829 Mr Wm. Bailey, from Newcastle (where he had been brought up in the flint glass trade), bought Astley's Works, and after fitting up suitable furnaces, &c., started the manufacture of flint glassware, which, it may be said, was then a flourishing industry in Leith. Mr Bailey spent a good deal of money in the endeavour to establish a business in Portobello, and had with him at that time as his chief clerk and traveller the late Mr John Ford, founder of the celebrated Holyrood Flint-Glass Works, Edinburgh ; but after persevering for twenty years and evidently not being so successful in his efforts as he expected, he eventually, about 1848, changed the character of his works, giving up the flint

glass, and taking to what turned out to be the more profitable making of green glass bottles.

We have already referred to Mr Bailey in his public capacity as the first Provost of Portobello, and a man of public spirit who did much for the benefit of his adopted town. He built for himself the adjoining house which has since been known as Baileyfield.

At Mr Bailey's death in 1859, the business, which for two or three years previous had had the benefit of the skill and management of Mr Richard Cooper as a partner, under the designation of Messrs Bailey & Cooper, was a large and prosperous one. Mr Cooper was then joined by his brother-in-law, Mr Thomas Wood, also from Staffordshire, where he had been connected with one of the largest flint-glass works in that busy centre of the English pottery and glass-ware trade. Under the name of Messrs Cooper & Wood the works at Baileyfield were continued by the firm with renewed energy and success until 1866, when a break in the partnership took place. Mr Cooper by arrangement retained the old part of the works. Mr Wood having acquired a part of the works along with the property westward, erected for himself additional furnaces, kilns, stores, and offices, which have since been further extended north and south of the dwelling house, while the introduction of a branch railway from the main line gave Mrs Wood good reason to complain that she might any day expect to find a locomotive making its way into her front dining-room window!

A flourishing trade has ever since been carried on by both firms, the Portobello Bottleworks being the largest and most important in Scotland. Mr Wood, who also, as our past narrative shows, occupied a prominent place in the history of the town, has displayed equal talent in the prosecution of his private business. Realising that the methods in vogue in this country for the manufacture of bottles were antiquated, and that British makers were placed at a great disadvantage in the competition with makers in Germany and Sweden, he visited these countries, studying their systems, and at considerable expense and trouble, introduced a new mode of manufacturing by means of water gas. With great engineering skill he set up the necessary machinery, building new furnaces to be supplied with gas for fuel, with kilns, and other appliances. Not only so, but in order that the new system might have a fair trial he brought over a number of skilled

workmen from Sweden and Germany. This importation of foreigners caused for a time some ill-feeling among the Scotch workmen, but after the lapse of over fourteen years this has entirely disappeared, and now foreigners and Scotsmen work harmoniously together, while the improvement in the article manufactured has been as great as the financial success of the enterprise. Mr Wood employs 200 men and 70 boys, there being thirty sets of three men and two boys in the blowing and making process alone, while three continuous gas furnaces, and two intermittent coal-firing furnaces are kept constantly going. The average output of each set of men and boys is about ten gross per day, or if broken time be reckoned, the total output of the works is about EIGHT MILLIONS of bottles per annum. Mr Wood has a large business connection both in England and Scotland.

The firm of Richard Cooper & Coy. was formed into a limited liability company in 1895, and under the management of Mr Thomas Cooper, they carry on an extensive business on somewhat similar lines, employing 230 operatives of whom about fifty are boys, not a few Germans being among them.

Within the last few years the firm have also made great improvements in their methods of production. With one large continuous gas furnace, and two intermittent coal furnaces (one of them for clear glass) turning out a continuous supply, their annual output is somewhere about SIX MILLIONS of bottles.

THE PAPER WORKS.

The extensive paper works in Bridge Street, carried on by Messrs Alfred Nichol & Company, were originally built for a flax mill, some time before 1783, as may be seen from Ainslie's plan of the "Village of Figgate." In the early part of the present century the mill changed its character, being converted into a place for manufacturing lead pipes and white lead paint, by a Leith merchant named James Smith, for which purpose it was used till about the year 1834. The street in which it is situated was then named Tobago Street, in all probability out of compliment to a Mr David Stoddart, a gentleman who had come home from the Island of Tobago, and settling in Portobello, was married in 1809 to Elizabeth, the second daughter of William Jameson, of Rosefield.

On the death of James Smith, the mill, which in the interval had been used as a mustard manufactory, was acquired in 1836 by Messrs Crighton & Company, said to be from Aberdeen, who again changed its character, converting it into a paper mill, common brown paper being their principal product. They appear not to have been very successful, for they were followed a few years afterwards by a Mr Adcock, whose tenure was equally short, as we find that about 1842 Messrs Thomas Craig & Company had come into possession. Thomas was one of three or four brothers who made themselves famous in the trade in connection with their works at Newbattle, near Dalkeith.

About 1848, on the death of Thomas, the business was taken up by Robert Craig, under the designation of Robert Craig and Company, until 1849-50, when Robert's younger brother, David, become the owner, and carried it on with spirit and apparent success for a number of years. Extensive additions and internal improvements in methods and quality of paper made the mill at Portobello somewhat celebrated about fifty years ago, all sorts of coloured papers being produced in large quantity. After 1856, the business was carried on by Mr D. Craig, under the name of David Craig & Company, with the assistance of his two sons, James and David.

Further extensive alterations and the introduction of new machinery at great cost, did not unfortunately lead to commensurate success. Difficulties overtook the firm, which led to the closing up of the place entirely in 1871.

In the following year the premises were reopened by Messrs Hunter & Aikenhead, from Messrs Craig & Company's Mills at Newbattle, who carried on an extensive business with success for the next seventeen years. They somewhat changed the character of the output, turning their attention largely to printing papers for newspapers, magazines, &c.

The Mill passed into the hands of Mr Alfred Nichol, from Markinch, in 1889, and has since been carried on by him and his brother, Mr Frank Nichol, under the title of Messrs Alfred Nichol and Company. The firm is well known in the trade for their enterprise and skill in the adoption of modern methods and improvements. At present it is only a single machine mill, but as the works stand on several acres of ground there is room enough for further developments. Turning their attention largely to printing

papers, they now produce a sheet of exceptional purity and smoothness of surface, admirably adapted for book and magazine purposes where illustrations by process blocks are required. These papers can now be got without showing a trace of the wire mark, and that without losing bulk. This is done by careful supercalendering.

The paper machine—originally erected for D. Craig & Company—has an eighty-one inch deckle, so that almost any size of paper can be produced. A large and steady business is carried on with wholesale firms in London, Glasgow, Birmingham, and Manchester, while no inconsiderable part of their output finds its way to India, Australia, and the Cape. The capacity of the mill is about thirty-five tons per week, all produced by steam power, coupled with the skill and labour of some eighty employés, of whom about thirty are women and girls—these latter being chiefly engaged in folding and packing.

It may here be mentioned that the paper upon which these annals are printed was made by Messrs Alfred Nichol and Company at the Portobello Mill.



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CHAPTER XXVII.

PORTOBELLO CHURCHES.

WE have dealt fully in a former part of this work with the ecclesiastical history of the parish from the earliest times, and to some extent have touched upon the more recent establishment of the Church of Scotland in the town of Portobello at the beginning of the century. But the development of the town necessarily led from time to time to the extension of Church accommodation, until now we find not one denomination merely, but some half-a-dozen.

A brief sketch of each of these must here suffice.

ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

At the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in May 1843, the Rev. John Glen, minister of the *quoad sacra* Church in Melville Street, signed the Deed of Demission and joined the Free Church. For a time ordinances were carried on under the charge of the kirk-session of Duddingston, and in February 1844 the Rev. W. S. Blackwood was chosen minister of the congregation. Though an earnest good man he was not popular as a preacher, and during his eighteen years ministry he never succeeded in gathering a large membership round him. On his death in 1861 he was succeeded in the charge by the Rev. John Wallace, a talented younger brother of the sometime Professor Robert Wallace, now M.P. for East Edinburgh. After his retirement in 1866 on account of bad health, the congregation, which, during his short ministry, had largely increased, elected the Rev. Geo. T. Jamieson, then minister of the Parish of Newton in Ayr. For these past thirty-two years he has laboured faithfully and with much acceptance; a steady and satisfactory increase in the membership having gone on from year to year, while in Sabbath School and Mission work praiseworthy efforts continue to be made. The membership is reported at 1010. Services are carried on by a probationer of the

Church in the Mission Hall at the west end, built about nine years ago, who also assists the minister.

ST JAMES' CHURCH.

The congregation worshipping at present in a temporary Iron Church in the grounds of Argyle House, was formed in connection with Duddingston Church as a mission station in 1874, "to meet the spiritual destitution and want of church accommodation within the burghal portion of the Parish of Duddingston," and to be under the charge of "an active licentiate of the Church." This, of course, had reference to Church of Scotland adherents, there being otherwise ample church accommodation at the time supplied by other denominations. Services were begun in the Town Hall in June, and carried on for some time by the minister of Duddingston until the appointment of the Rev. William Adam Stark, who laboured in the effort to make a congregation for two years, but without much success. On his resignation in 1876, he was succeeded by the Rev. Mr Darling. The present minister, Rev. James Oliver, succeeded in 1878, and although the congregation has been subject to vicissitudes, steady progress has been made, and there is now a membership of 353.

THE FREE CHURCH.

At the Disruption, those who left the Church of Scotland in Melville Street, purchased from the Rev. Dr David Crawford the church in Regent Street, then connected with the Relief Church, and the two bodies uniting formed a strong congregation. Mr Glen, the former minister, being old and in infirm health, a call was given to the Rev. Robert Cowe of Spittal, who was inducted to the charge 2nd November 1843. After a short but active ministry, he left to accept a call from Free St Andrew's Church, Manchester in October 1845, and as his successor the Rev. Thomas Burns from Monkton, a nephew of the Poet, and third son of Gilbert Burns, was chosen and inducted in June 1846. He only remained one year, going out with a Free Church party of settlers to New Zealand in 1847, and there founding in Otago a flourishing colony of Scotsmen.

After many vicissitudes and difficulties the congregation ultimately called to the charge the Rev. Alexander Philip, then minister of the Free Abbey Church, Dunfermline, and he was in-

ducted in March 1849. Under his able ministry the Church rapidly filled, and church and mission work was prosecuted with vigour. As a preacher he was highly popular, the Church, especially in the summer months, being frequently crowded to the door.

He died in March 1861 at the early age of 47, and his loss was much felt, not only in Portobello, but by the Church at large. The congregation having called the Rev. Robert Henderson Ireland, as his successor, he was inducted at Portobello 14th November 1861. A son of the Rev. Dr W. F. Ireland of North Leith, he had for some years been Free Church minister of Skene, near Aberdeen, where his services were highly valued, and where he did much good work. His ministry in Portobello extended over nineteen years, during which time the congregation increased considerably. In November 1874 they had the misfortune to have their Church in Regent Street completely destroyed by fire, and in view of the expansion of the town, the old site was abandoned, and a handsome new Gothic edifice, after plans by Mr John Honeyman, R.S.A., was erected near to Joppa, at the cost of £10,000. It was opened for public worship 7th October 1877, by Principal Rainy.

Mr Ireland died 12th February 1881, at the age of 53. He was a good man, and one who for nineteen years exercised a very marked influence over the religious life of the town. The vacancy was filled by the appointment of the Rev. Patrick W. Robertson, M.A., the present minister, his induction taking place on 30th September 1881. The membership is 550. The congregation has several Sabbath Schools, and carries on active mission work in their mission premises in Pipe Street.*

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, WINDSOR PLACE.

The first Secession Church in Portobello was opened in 1824, and met in the upper story of a house in Wellington Street, next to the Independent Chapel, which was used as a schoolroom during the week. Its members, some of whom had been connected with the Established Church, Melville Street, under Mr Glen, joining with a few families who travelled to Secession Churches in Edinburgh, formed a body strong enough to risk the building of a church. They accordingly built the church in

*For full particulars see Mr Baird's "*Free Church Congregation of Portobello*," published 1889.

Regent Street and called a Mr W. C. Arneil to become their pastor. The congregation was not a success, and they soon found themselves involved in monetary difficulties. Ultimately the building, which cost £1800, had to be sold to satisfy creditors, and in 1834, being purchased by Rev. David Crawford of Earlston, was opened by him in connection with the Relief Church. Many, of course, of the old members adhered to Mr Crawford's ministry until 1843, when they united with the Free Church. The Presbytery of the Secession Church, pressed no doubt by some of its more ardent supporters, saw they had made a mistake in allowing their congregation to be broken up, and so when Mr Crawford's ministry began, or soon after, they inaugurated a second Secession Church in the Schoolroom in Wellington Street. The Presbytery continued to supply ordinances to the small congregation meeting here for some months, and eventually appointed Mr George Deans on trial for six months. He was called afterwards to be their pastor in 1836, and his ordination took place in the adjoining Independent Chapel, which had just been built. After worshipping for two years in the small upper room of Wellington Street, the seceders built a place for themselves in Bath Street, where Mr Deans had the satisfaction of building up a large and flourishing congregation. The Church was subsequently enlarged by the addition of galleries, but ultimately finding it too small even then, they removed in 1880 to the elegant edifice which adorns the corner of Windsor Place. Under the pastorate of Rev. William Paterson, B.D., who on the death of Mr Deans succeeded to the full charge of the congregation, the heavy debt upon the buildings has been cleared. The membership is 300.

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, REGENT STREET.

Regent Street Church which has seen many changes, was after the disastrous fire of 1874 fitted up in a temporary way for the accommodation of the Free Church while their new church was being built, but after it was finished, the old building was sold to Provost Thomson, who conceived the idea of starting a second charge connected with the Free Church. His offer to the kirk-session of the free use of it for this purpose was, however, respectfully declined on the ground that the effect of starting a second Free Church in Portobello would simply be to divide the congregation and weaken its efforts.

Mr Thomson afterwards offered the building to the Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church, who at once accepted the offer. Once more it was opened for public worship, a congregation was formed, and the Rev. John Sellar called to be their minister. The building was at considerable expense completely restored, and is at once commodious and elegant. Mr Sellar has succeeded in gathering round him an influential congregation of 320 members.

THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

If one of the smallest, the Congregational Church is as influential and vigorous as any church in the town. In the early part of the century Robert and James Haldane, the apostles of Congregationalism in Scotland, occasionally visited and preached in Portobello, and appear to have done much to awaken religious life in the place by their fervid evangelical sermons. In 1831, or about twenty-two years afterwards, a Mr Ward, then in Leith, began a series of services in the open air, chiefly on the sands, and subsequently in the same schoolroom in Wellington Street used by the Seceders, and gathering a small but devoted band of followers, they continued for several years to use it as a preaching station. In 1835 the congregation erected for themselves a small chapel in Wellington Street capable of holding 300 persons. The first regular minister chosen was Mr James Cameron, who was ordained on the 6th July 1837; among those who officiated on the occasion being the celebrated Dr W. Lindsay Alexander. Mr Cameron was an earnest and deservedly popular pastor, and during his eight years residence in Portobello succeeded in adding considerably to the congregation. The next minister called by the church (1873) was the Rev. R. Laing, afterwards of Dundee, "whose happy pastorate," we are told, "extended to the eighth year" also. Three short pastorates followed the retirement of Mr Laing, first that of Mr Edward Waite, whose ministry lasted nearly three years; second, that of Mr G. D. Macgregor (afterwards of Paddington Chapel, London), who was ordained in 1853; third, that of Mr Wright, who came from Haddington.

Mr J. W. Coombs, B.A., began his ministry in 1858, and during the five years which followed the church was visited with much spiritual and material prosperity. Health failing, he resigned his charge, and was succeeded by the Rev. William Lowe,

formerly twenty-five years minister in Forfar. Of him it has been said that "few men had a greater influence upon the religious and political questions of the last half century than he had." Upon all the great questions affecting the country, and particularly the Repeal of the Corn Laws, he had taken an active and decided part, and he was ever ready and willing to advocate measures for the improvement of the condition of his fellow-citizens. Shortly after his appointment a society was formed in the town called the Young Men's Literary Association in which he took a lively and active interest, doing much to help the young men connected with it in their efforts for self-improvement. His genial speeches at their annual reunions or social meetings will long be remembered by those who were privileged to hear him, for their sound advice and encouraging criticism, always blended with a kindly flow of humour. His end was somewhat tragic, for he died suddenly while conducting the evening service in his church, 13th June 1869. In the following year the Rev. John Fordyce was ordained to be Mr Lowe's successor. During his short but vigorous ministry of two years the chapel was remodelled and very much improved both in internal and external appearance and comfort. After Mr Fordyce's removal to Belfast in 1872 there was a long vacancy of two years, at the close of which the membership had fallen to forty. Under the vigorous pastorate of Rev. Robert Auchterlonie (now of Dalry, Edinburgh) who resigned the charge at New Pitsligo in 1874 to come to Portobello, the congregation speedily recovered itself. Mr Auchterlonie being called to a larger charge in Edinburgh in 1877 his place was taken by Mr E. Walker, now of Dunedin, New Zealand, but he only remained a few months and was succeeded by Rev. James Kennedy, a most estimable and devoted missionary at Benares, India, for many years. At the urgent request of the congregation he consented (though now a pretty old man) to take upon himself the duties, which he discharged with much acceptance till 1882.

Mr Kennedy's successor, the Rev. W. Hope Davison, M.A., a distinguished student of Edinburgh Theological Hall, brought considerable life with him into the congregation, and during his ministry of nine years, a long-contemplated enlargement of the Chapel was made, and a commodious hall at the rear erected for Sunday School and other meetings. In 1891, Mr Davison being appointed joint secretary of the Congregational Union of

Scotland, he resigned the charge, and the present pastor, the Rev. James Kelly, from Belfast, was chosen, It is worthy of note that both the secretary and the treasurer of the Congregational Union of Scotland (the late Rev. John Douglas, and Mr James S. Mack, S.S.C.) and Professor W. Douglas Mackenzie, of Chicago, were formerly members of this Church. Membership 130.

ST MARK'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

In the early part of the century, at the conclusion of the Peninsular War, there was a large influx of military and naval officers to Portobello many of whom were Episcopalians. They erected a small Chapel for themselves in Brighton Place, which was opened and consecrated for public worship by Bishop Sandford, on 20th October 1825, and named St John's Chapel. He at the same time licensed the Rev. Mr Langhorn to the ministerial duties of the charge. According to the *Scotsman's* account of the proceedings "the Chapel was crowded by respectable persons desiring to witness the solemn ceremony. Every one present appeared impressed with the solemnity with which the consecration service was performed," the Bishop being assisted by the Dean of Edinburgh, "who delivered a solemn and affecting charge." Misunderstandings and division appear to have very soon disturbed the congregation, for even before the Chapel was completed, the erection of another was begun by Colonel Robert Haliburton, at his own expense, which was opened by the Rev. Mr Daly, Rector of Powerscourt, near Dublin, 19th May 1826, and named St Mark's. A considerable number of families from St John's joined the new Church, and for some years afterwards the two Chapels continued as rivals. St John's, with a membership of 120, being served by the Rev. Torry Anderson till October 1830, and for a short time by the Rev. John Housby. Mr Torry Anderson (afterwards of Dundee), was the author of a rather celebrated song called, "The Araby Maid," the first verse of which is as follows:—

> Why so fast flies the bark through the ocean's foam?
> Why wings she so speedy a flight?
> 'Tis an Araby maid who has left her home
> To fly with a Christian Knight.

St Mark's Church was consecrated on 21st August 1828, and on the 11th November following Bishop Sandford inducted the Rev.

George Maurice Drummond, B.A., to be minister, the membership at the time being 108. The right of the Vestry to open the burying ground round the Church had been the subject of litigation with the Kirk-Session of Duddingston for two or three years, but was ultimately decided in favour of St Mark's. The ground was accordingly consecrated by the Bishop after Mr Drummond's induction, and has ever since been used as a burying-ground.

Mr Drummond was much esteemed as a minister, and for a number of years was secretary to the Destitute and Sick Society, taking much interest in the welfare of the poor of the town. He was a brother of the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond of St Thomas' Church, Edinburgh. He left Portobello in 1839 for a charge in Wales, where he died October 1860. Mr Drummond was succeeded by the Rev. Mr Beresford, but he only held office for a very short time and was followed by the Rev. Mr Thorburgh. During his incumbency division again occurred in the congregation, and he with those adhering to him separated and held services for a time in the Assembly Rooms, Bath Street. Ultimately Mr Thorburgh left Portobello, and his followers returned to St Mark's.

The Rev. John Boyle was the next minister of the Church for about ten years, namely—from 1842 till 1852. He purchased the building from Colonel Haliburton's widow, and afterwards sold it to the congregation for £1500. On his retiring from the pastorate in 1852 to reside with his son, who was a minister in Bridge of Allan, he was succeeded by the Rev. Charles Severn Absolam, a very worthy good man, who was highly esteemed by all classes in Portobello. He retired from the ministry in 1860, and was succeeded by Rev. John Gower Jenkins from St Osyth, Essex, who was inducted to the charge by Bishop Terrot. After a ministry of five years he resigned in May 1865, and his place was filled for the next four years by the Rev. Dr William Cartman, who previous to this had been headmaster of Skipton Grammar School. Mr Jenkins died 14th December 1869, and Dr Cartman died 29th March same year.

The Rev. Mr Coney was the next incumbent from 1869 to 1873.

He was succeeded in the latter year by the Rev. Joseph M. Cotterill, who for some years had done good mission service in South Africa. His induction took place on 1873, the ceremony

being performed by his brother, the Right Reverend Henry Cotterill, then Bishop of Edinburgh. During his long ministry of over quarter of a century the congregation has considerably increased in numbers and influence and a few years ago a great improvement was made upon the appearance of the church by the addition of a chancel, the removal of the side galleries, and the reseating of the area ; its internal appearance being now more in keeping with the Episcopal form of worship. Mr Cotterill's attainments as a scholar were recognised by the University of St Andrews from whom he received in 1896 the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was for some years a useful member of the Portobello School Board.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The Episcopal Chapel in Brighton Place was acquired in 1835 and was attended by a non-resident clergyman for nine years, till 1844, when under the invocation of St John the Evangelist it was formally opened on Low Sunday (27th April) as a Mission Station to supply the needs of the Roman Catholic population of a very wide district, stretching from Edinburgh to within a short distance of the walls of Berwick-on-Tweed, including the whole of Haddingtonshire, and the shires of Berwick and Midlothian. In no district in Scotland did the old religion flourish with greater splendour previous to the Reformation, the whole country being dotted over with the mouldering ruins of abbeys and churches which once were famous. But so completely had Catholicism been driven out of this once favoured portion of her dominions, that among the Scottish population it would be difficult to mention at the beginning of this century more than a few upholders of the ancient faith.

Of late years there has, however, been a considerable influx of Irish emigrants earning a precarious livelihood as labourers and farm servants. Scattered over the country in detached groups, it was, of course, a matter of physical impossibility for them to attend divine service in Portobello except at long intervals ; and accordingly with a view to affording these poor people occasional opportunities of attending mass and discharging their other religious duties, Rev. James Clapperton, the first clergyman of the mission, opened stations at Dalkeith, Prestonpans, Pathhead, Tranent, and Haddington. These and a number of other towns have since been fully supplied with ordinances, many of them form-

ing now large and flourishing congregations. Portobello Chapel still, however, supplies the needs of a pretty large area, though the greater number of those now attending are drawn from the more immediate neighbourhood. The Catholic population of the large district, supervised by the Portobello Mission in 1851, was then estimated at about one thousand souls; a number which it is safe to say is enormously increased within the intervening forty-seven years. Father Clapperton, who left Portobello in 1849, is still alive, and resides at Fochabers, though now retired from active service.

The Rev. Joseph Mantica took charge July 1849, and died at Portobello March 1852. For the next two years St John's was attended by different clergymen from Edinburgh. The following served the mission for a few months each:—The Rev. William Downie, the Rev. Peter Grant, the Rev. John Stuart, and the Rev. William Mackay. The Rev. Joseph Donahoe was made pastor of the church, March 1854, and left February 1856. He is now doing duty in Manchester. He was succeeded by the Rev. William D'Arcy, who remained in charge of St John's for sixteen years. Illness compelled him to resign in the February of 1872; he died at Rathgar, near Dublin, September 1877. When Father D'Arcy resigned, the Rev. Charles Paul attended the church, until November, then the Rev. John Smith took charge, and remained at Portobello until May 1881. He is now a Canon of the Metropolitan Chapter, and is stationed in Stirling. During the incumbency of Father Smith St John's was considerably enlarged, and the Chapel of our Lady of Loretto at Musselburgh was purchased for the congregation there. The Rev. Patrick Morris succeeded Father Smith in May 1881, and left June 1888. During his stay St John's Hall, Bath Street, formerly the United Presbyterian Church, was purchased, and turned into a school. The school was opened with an attendance of about ninety, but of late years it has been greatly added to, the number of children under tuition now approaching 300. Father Morris is now stationed at Falkirk, and is a Canon of the Edinburgh Chapter.

He was succeeded by Canon Meagher. For years past the once large missionary district of Portobello had been divided and sub-divided. Clergymen are now stationed at Loanhead, Dalkeith, Penicuik, Haddington, and Dunbar, and over and above,

churches have been erected at Pathhead, Rosewell, and Duns. Tranent, the last outside station to be taken away from St John's Church, is now, along with Musselburgh and district, placed under a priest resident at Tranent. Canon Meagher left February 1890, and was succeeded by the Rev. Joseph Donlevy, the present pastor, who it may be mentioned, is a useful member of the School Board.

PORTOBELLO AND JOPPA HOME MISSION.

This Mission was instituted in 1847. From its unsectarian character it has formed a common ground on which all denominations have for fifty years acted together for the religious and moral well-being of those who may not be connected with any of the churches. The Mission was founded by a number of ladies chiefly for the purpose of supplying the need of Joppa and the poorer part of the west end of Portobello, and while it is affiliated with the Edinburgh City Mission, it continues to be managed by a superintendent and a committee of ladies, elected by the subscribers annually. It is endowed to a small extent by funds left for the purpose by the Misses Erskine, who also provided the Mission Hall in Adelphi Place, which is vested in the various ministers of the town as trustees. What the Destitute and Sick Society of Portobello has done since its establishment in 1831 as a benevolent institution, supplying the temporal wants of the necessitous poor, the Town Mission has endeavoured to do for their spiritual welfare. The following are the various missionaries who have officiated in this important field of usefulness:—Mr Aitken, 1847 to 1850; Mr Dawson, 1851; Mr A. Thomson, 1852 to 1865; Mr W. Munro, 1865 to 1874; Mr Bernard Jamie, 1874 to 1882; since which time the work has been well carried on by the present missionary, Mr David Harris.

There are several other Missions and Church organisations in the town, which have been carried on from time to time, with more or less success, among which may be mentioned the Baptists worshipping in Windsor Lodge Academy, the Salvation Army in Tower Street Hall, and the Railway Mission in Ramsay Lane.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LITERARY CELEBRITIES.

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

IF Portobello has not given birth to men of outstanding celebrity, we can point to not a few who are identified with it from having resided within its borders, and a short reference to the more prominent of these may be of interest.

The most notable name undoubtedly in this category is that of Sir Walter Scott.

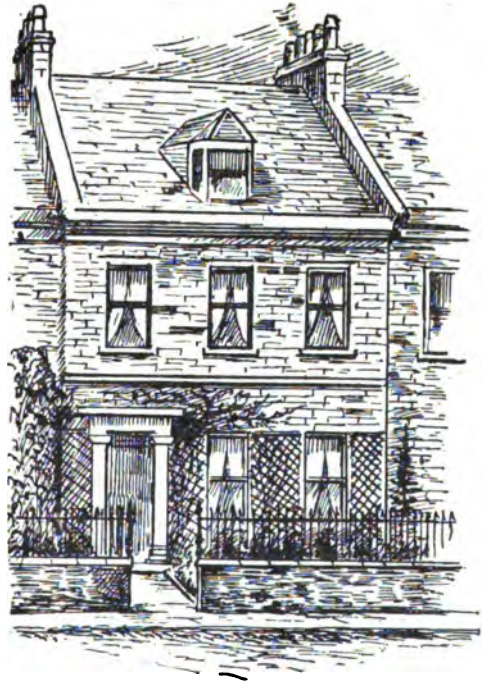
In the early years of the century, when the country was ringing with the Continental Wars of Napoleon, Portobello Sands was the favourite resort of the Volunteers, and especially of that famous Volunteer Cavalry Regiment commonly called the Edinburgh Light Horse, but in later times by the youngsters of the place—"soor dooks." Here they were wont to drill, though their headquarters were at Musselburgh, and Scott, an enthusiastic horseman in his young days, acted as Quartermaster of the regiment.

In 1802 he was contemplating the first draft of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, which he afterwards himself described as being "in a light horseman sort of stanza," but little had been done to it. Skene of Rubislaw tells us that in the intervals of drill, Scott used to delight in walking his powerful black horse up and down the sands by himself, within the beating of the surge; and now and then he would see him plunge in his spurs and go off as if at a charge, with the spray dashing about him. "As we rode back to Musselburgh," says Skene, "he often came and placed himself beside me to repeat the verses he had been composing during these pauses in our exercise." These were doubtless portions of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, for he mentions further, that during a charge on the Sands in the autumn of this same year, Scott received a kick from a horse which confined him for three days to his lodging, where Skene found him busy with his pen; and he produced before the three days were expired, the first canto of the

Lay, very nearly, if his friend's memory is to be trusted, as it was ultimately published, though it did not appear in print for three years after that unfortunate mishap on the beach of Portobello.

The Portobello Beach, then very retired and picturesque, was one of Sir Walter's favourite drives when out with his family, where old Peter, his coachman, was always instructed to keep his horses as near as possible to the sea. Here he delighted to survey the tranquil expanse of the noble estuary of the Forth.

Twenty-five years later, when the military spirit of his youth might have been thought to be extinct, and when deeply involved in his noble literary struggle to repay the load of debt in which he was involved with the Ballantynes and Constables, we find Scott referring with no little pride to these early days at Portobello. In his journal of 18th March 1828, he states "I am one of the oldest, if not the oldest yeoman in Scotland, and have seen the rise, progress, and now the fall of this very constitutional part of the national force."



LOCKHART'S HOUSE.

In the previous summer to this Scott was a frequent visitor to Portobello. His son-in-law, John Lockhart, with his family had come on a visit chiefly for the benefit of their children, the eldest of whom was then very delicate. Lockhart tells us that the arrival of Scott's daughter and her children at Portobello "was a source of constant refreshment to him during June, for every other day he came down and dined with them, and strolled about afterwards on the beach, thus interrupting bene-

ficially for his health, and I doubt not for the result of his labours also, the new custom of regular night work, or as he called it, serving double tides."

The house occupied by Lockhart on this visit was No. 37 Melville Street, a two-storey house on the east side of the street, immediately adjoining the grounds of Melville House, recently built upon, and known as Vernon Villas. Here the great novelist loved dearly to come, and amid the gambols with his grandchildren, threw off for a time the load of care that then burdened his mind, as the following extracts from his Journal will show:—

"9th June 1827.—When I came home from Court I found that John Lockhart and Sophia were arrived by the steamboat at Portobello, where they have a small lodging. I went down with a bottle of champagne and a flask of maraschino, and made buirdly cheer with them for the rest of the day."

"25th June.—Yesterday I dined with the Lockhart's at Portobello."

"5th July.—This morning worked and sent Ballantyne the introduction of the *Chronicles*, containing my *Confessions*, and did something but not fluently to the *Confessions* themselves. Not happy however, the black dog worries me. Bile I suppose, but I will rally and combat the reiver. Reiver it is, that wretched malady of mind. Got quite well in the afternoon. Went out to Portobello after dinner, and chatted with little Johnny and told him the history of the Field of Prestonpans. Few remain who care about these stories."

For "Little Johnny," his favourite grandson, he was at this time writing out his History of Scotland, under the title "Tales of a Grandfather," a work, which in the hands of any other writer, would have taken years to accomplish. To Sir Walter Scott it was merely a passing ploy. "I will hash history," said he, "with anybody, be he who he will. . . . I would as soon compose histories for boys and girls, which may be useful, as fictions for children of a larger growth."

It is pleasing to think of him who wrote in raptures the praises of "Mine own romantic town," finding in early youth and later old age recreation from the worries of life on the sandy beach of Portobello; and as Carberry Hill, Fawside Castle, and Prestonpans appeared to his view, finding still further stimulus to literary

exertion as they suggested recollections of stirring events in the history of his much loved country.

CAROLINE BARONESS NAIRNE.

Of the many sweet singers that Scotland has produced perhaps there is none who for living popularity comes so close to Burns as Lady Nairne. Whether it be her Jacobite lays, or the popular ballads of common life with which her name is associated, her place in Scottish song is second to none. Almost within a decade of each other, three of Scotland's greatest singers were born. They who wrote of "Mine Own Romantic Town," "Ye Banks and Braes o' Bonnie Doon," and "The Auld House," were all children about the same time, drinking in the same native air. Burns was seven years Lady Nairne's senior ; and Scott and she by a few hours missed having the same birthday, only Scott came five years later on the scene.

Descended from the Oliphants of Gask, and married to her cousin, Major Nairne, she represented two old families who inherited strong Jacobite proclivities and for long suffered in their estates and titles the penalty of rebellion. Caroline Oliphant was not known in her own day to be the author of such songs as "The Land o' the Leal," "Caller Herring," "The Laird o' Cockpen," "Kind Robin lo'es Me," "The Rowan Tree," "Charlie is My Darling," "He's o'er the Hills that I lo'e weel," and many other "Lays of Strathearn," for she would never acknowledge their authorship, though the truth was often suspected all the same. The secret did leak out, and in one instance to good purpose, for it is said that her husband's recovery of the peerage was due to her song, "The Attainted Scottish Nobles," being sung in the presence of George IV., when Sir Walter Scott taking advantage of the favourable impression it made, urged upon His Majesty a petition for the restoration of Major Nairne's title as Lord Nairne, which was accordingly granted. It was about the year 1806 that Lady Nairne and her husband came to reside in Portobello, and shortly after they made the purchase of Caroline Cottage, now called "Nairne Lodge," on the Willowbrae Road, not far from Duddingston Mill. Here they resided until a year or two after Lord Nairne's death in 1838, and here it was that many of her fine songs were composed ; here her only son, the second and last Lord Nairne, was born in 1808 ; and here in the midst

of a small and select circle of friends, she had a large share in the publication of the *Scottish Minstrel*, completed in six volumes in 1824. In the course of its publication there were many questions asked as to the authorship of the songs with the initials "B. B.," under which she disguised her work. Some such queries were even put in Caroline Nairne's presence. She declared long afterwards that she had not the author of *Waverley's* tact in parrying a question, neither had she the refined sauciness by which Lady Anne Lindsay turned the tables on her assailants. But Caroline Nairne could be silent, and to few but the closest friends was her poetic gift divulged. She courted the muse, but not in vain, in her own modest retiring way, and when, on the 27th October 1845, she died at the "Auld House" of Gask, Scotland had reason to lament the loss of one of its sweetest singers.

THE MISSES CORBETT.

In the early years of the century Portobello had strong attractions for literary talent. Though almost within the hum of the city, its quiet seashore and its grass-grown streets were secure from noisy excursionists, and gave every facility to those desirous of retirement. It had a society of its own—aristocratic, military, and naval; given somewhat to idleness and ennui, and, of course, all the more open on that account to gossip and scandal.

Miss Grace and Miss Walterina Corbett, daughters of John Corbett, Esq., of Tollcross, are credited with the joint-authorship of two novels in which the weaknesses and foibles of their neighbours form a principal feature. They resided in Pitt Street, and for many years enjoyed a well-merited reputation. *The Odd Volume*, 8vo., was published in 1826, and it is rather remarkable that a generation which had been already surfeited with the *Waverley Novels*, should have found the *Odd Volume* worthy of attention. Even "Christopher North" said of it, that "it was most ingenious, interesting, and amusing." In the dialogue between Shepherd, North, and Tickler over the literary occurrences of the day in the *Noctes Ambrosianæ* (November 1826) Shepherd demands—"What's the *Odd Volume* that a' the newspapers is praisin' sae?" To which North replies—"A very lively and amusing volume it is, James, and the production, as I have heard it whispered, of two young ladies, sisters." In a note it is explained their name is Corbett.

This was followed in 1827 by the *Busybodies*, a novel in three volumes, 12mo., published in London. The scene is laid in Portobello, and the *dramatis personæ* consist of lodging-house keepers of the town, an Edinburgh baronet and his family, and a sprinkling of dashing cavalry officers from Piershill. It is certainly amusing, but we rather fear it is not the kind of stuff to go down with our reading public now-a-days. That some of the characters represented were drawn from the life is only too evident from a statement we have heard that after its publication the Misses Corbett had to leave Portobello for a time to escape the wrath of the so-called Busybodies.

It is referred to favourably, however, in the "Noctes" of July 1827, and as the reference is interesting we make no apology for reproducing it here. Shepherd and Tickler have come down to Portobello for a bathe. Having engaged their bathing machines, they strip, and propose to have a swimming match to Inchkeith! The Shepherd gets the start and is closely followed by Tickler, who is described as "a gran' soomer—out o' the water at every stroke, neck, breast, and shouthers, and halfway down the back—after the fashion o' the great American serpent." The Shepherd's style was "less showy—laigh and lown—less hurry, but mair speed." They soon were far enough out to descry the view of the city, which can now be seen any day from the Pier, and which calls from the Shepherd the enthusiastic eulogy—"Is na' Edinbro' a glorious city? Sae clear the air, yonner ye see a man an' a woman stannin' on the tap o' Arthur Seat! I had nae notion there were sae mony steeples, and spires, and columns, and pillars, and obelisks, and domes in Edinburgh! At this distance the e'e canna distinguish atween them that belangs to kirks and them that belangs to naval monuments, and them that belangs to ile-gas companies, and them that's only chimney heads in the auld town, and the taps o' groves, or single trees, sic as poplars; and aboon a' and ahint a', craigs and saft broo'd hills sprinkled wi' sheep, lichts and shadows, and the blue vapoury glimmer o' a midsummer day." After an amusing encounter with the captain of a passing steamer, the two worthies came across a pleasure-boat "full o' ladies," among whom they descry the fair authors of the *Odd Volume* and the *Busybodies*. "What's their names?" demanded the Shepherd. "They chose to be anonymous, James," says Tickler, "and that being the case, no

gentleman is entitled to draw the veil." The Shepherd, who has been listening with rapture to their song from the boat, remarks, "They're sweet singers, howsoever, and the words o' their sang are capital. *Baith Odd Volumes are maist ingenious, well written, and amusing;*" a remark which brings from Tickler the reply—"The public think so; and they sell like wildfire." The song referred to is in all probability the one entitled, "We'll go to sea no more," to be found in the *Odd Volume*, which has allusions to various places on the Firth of Forth, such as Inchkeith, the Bass, and the Isle of May. The worthies, in the company of a certain Mrs Gentle, having got safely back to Edinburgh in Forsyth's coach, sufficiently invigorated by their swim, Tickler gives vent to his satisfaction by remarking to his fellow-passenger—"This Portobello, Mrs Gentle, is really a wonderful place!"

The *Busybodies* was followed in 1828 by *Tales and Legends*, in three volumes, 8vo., published in Edinburgh, but with what success we are not informed. The Misses Corbett's works have been long out of print, and have shared the fate common to all ephemeral literature. Copies may now and again be picked up on old bookstalls, and valued as curiosities, but the reading public would not thank us for commending these relics of the past for their perusal.

Miss Grace Corbett died 11th June 1843, aged seventy-three, and her sister, Walterina, who was married to John Cunningham, Esq., of His Majesty's 54th Regiment, died 1st April 1837. Both ladies were buried in Portobello Churchyard.

DR JOHN JAMIESON.

This eminent antiquary and philologist spent the latter part of his long life as a resident in Portobello. A native of Glasgow, where he was born in 1759, he was trained for the Church, and was licensed to preach in 1781. Shortly afterwards he was called by a congregation in Forfar, to whom he ministered for sixteen years. His writings having attracted attention, he was called to Edinburgh by the Nicolson Street Congregation of Anti-Burghers in 1797. He became widely known and respected, and was on the most intimate terms with Sir Walter Scott, who characterises him as "an excellent good man, full of auld Scotch cracks." From 1786 to 1820, when he issued in two volumes quarto, Barbour's *Bruce* and Blind Harry's *Wallace*, he had passed through the press

about a dozen different works, all evincing profound scholarship. His chief work is undoubtedly the *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, which appeared in 1808. Whether for its utility as furnishing a key to old authors and ancient records, or for the light it throws on obsolete manners and customs, it is undoubtedly entitled to the highest commendation. It has been said that the dictionary of the Scottish language cannot have cost less labour than Johnson's dictionary of the English language. "We conceive," says James Paterson, "it must have cost a great deal more. The one is a compilation of a living and well cultivated language, the other of one comparatively obsolete, and involving on the part of the lexicographer, not only the classical acquirements of the former, but the knowledge and research of the antiquary."*

A valuable abridgment was published in 1818, and by further diligence and perseverance, aided by numerous volunteers, he added two supplementary volumes in 1825; the introductory dissertation ingeniously supporting a theory as to the influence of the Picts on the Scottish language, now abandoned. Dr Jamieson retired from the active work of the ministry in 1830, and from that time till his death, which took place in Edinburgh in July 1838, he had a strong attachment to Portobello, where he resided chiefly in the summer months. The Doctor was endowed with considerable sense of humour, which often took the form of a dry caustic remark. On a fine summer morning Dr D. Crawford of the Relief Church, Portobello, happened to be coming up from the beach with his family—Mrs Crawford being with them—when he stopped and remarked to Dr Jamieson that they had just been down having a bathe. The latter thinking he meant they had all been together in one coach, said with a chuckle as he passed on, "Well, that's one way of being sociable!"

Sir Walter Scott entertained a high respect for Jamieson, though, we fear, this was not equally shared by the other members of the Abbotsford family. He visited there in 1826, and we find Scott in his Journal referring to his "auld Scotch cracks," which, said he, "amuse me well enough, but are caviare to the young people. A little prolix and heavy is the good Doctor, somewhat prosaic and accustomed to much attention on the Sunday from his congregation, and I hope on the six other days from his family. So he will demand full attention from all and sundry before he begins a

* *Kay's Edinburgh Portraits.*

story, and once begun there is no chance of his ending." After a few days he left Abbotsford on 28th July, when we have the following entry:—"This worthy lexicographer left us to-day. Somewhat ponderous he is, poor soul. But there are excellent things about him!"

PROFESSOR ROBERT JAMESON,

Professor of Natural History in Edinburgh University from 1804 till 1854, was long resident in Joppa.

A native of Leith, where he was born in 1774, and destined for the medical profession, he early evinced a strong predilection for the science of natural history. In 1798, when only twenty-four, he published his *Mineralogy of the Shetland Islands and Arran*, with an appendix containing observations on peat, kelp, and coal, which he incorporated in 1800 with his *Mineralogy of the Scottish Isles*, published in two quarto volumes. On his appointment in 1804 to the Edinburgh chair he attracted numerous pupils, and had the art of exciting their enthusiasm and receiving their affection. He was a slender, active, and energetic man, and nothing delighted him more than to conduct his students on excursions of discovery. He had travelled much on the Continent, but his pedestrian excursions with his students in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh were to him a great source of delight. He made large additions to the Museum, at great personal cost, of rocks and minerals, birds, insects, and fossils, the arranging of which must have been attended with enormous labour. In 1808 he founded the Wernerian Natural History Society, and throughout his life he kept the scientific world in England informed as to the progress of science in Germany. Along with Sir D. Brewster he in 1819 originated the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, of which from its tenth volume he was the sole editor until his death.

In addition to this, he published various works on Mineralogy and Ornithology between 1804 and 1830. In 1834 he wrote an Encyclopædia of Geography; and in 1843 an Historical and Descriptive Account of British India along with Mr Hugh Murray. He was also the author of a number of articles on cognate subjects for the *Encyclopædia Brittanica* and other publications.

As a man of learning Jameson is referred to in the *Chaldee MS.* (Blackwood) as "a wise man who had come out of Joppa, where the ships are; one that had sojourned in far countries."

Joppa in those days was quite detached and separate from Portobello and was always spoken of as apart from its greater neighbour. But its absorption into the burgh during the last thirty years has not obliterated its name or individuality any more than the good name of Portobello is likely to be lost in that of the City of Edinburgh.

Professor Jameson was strongly attached to the village by the sea, and spent much of his time in studying natural history as he found it represented among the rocks and shingle on the shore. The activity of his life is shown by the mass of his miscellaneous MS. fragments now in possession of the University of Edinburgh.

DAVID LAING.

Next to Scott, there is perhaps no name in Scottish literature holds a more honoured place than that of David Laing. He was the ally and the friend of Scott.

A veritable "bookworm," he spent his days and his nights among books—a lover of books, a gatherer of books, a devourer of books, and a hoarder of books. No man ever had a greater faculty of attracting books to his hands—books great and small, new and old, though especially the latter were his delight; and to him the world is indebted for the great labour he cheerfully gave in reproducing in modern garb many Scottish literary relics of antiquity. Both by fortune and circumstances was he favoured in carrying out to the full the tastes, which early—almost hereditary—training had implanted in his mind. He was born in Edinburgh in 1792, being the second son of William Laing, bookseller (one of a family of twelve, five sons and seven daughters), whose shop at the head of the Canongate, near St Mary's Wynd, was for many long years a favourite resort of the Edinburgh *literati* of the end of last century and the beginning of the present. After the usual course of instruction, first at the Canongate Burgh School and then at the Edinburgh University, young Laing found the occupation of his life in his father's shop. In the literary atmosphere of the place he became, even more than his father, a thorough bibliophile, "in whose nostrils," we are told "the odour of old calf was sweeter that the fragrance of Araby the Blest."

In 1826 David Laing had become a partner with his father in the business, which had some years before been removed to No.

49 South Bridge. Here were collected piles of rare and curious volumes, the wonder and envy of congenial visitors, but Davie's own life and soul. In *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, published anonymously by Lockhart in 1819—an amusing picture of the men and manners of Edinburgh of that time—he speaks with enthusiasm of the bookshop of David Laing. "Here," he says, "my friend Wastle commonly spends one or two hours every week he is in Edinburgh, turning over all the Aldines, Elzivirs, Wynkyn de Wordes, and Caxtons in the collection. Nor does he often leave the shop without taking some little specimen of its treasures home with him."

But David Laing did not merely collect and sell. He read and studied the books that came within his reach, and became an authority on antiquarian lore. In 1823 Scott, Thomson, and a few others originated the Bannatyne Club for the republication of old and obsolete works connected with Scottish historical literature. Scott was president, and no more fitting man could have been found than David Laing to be its secretary. With a membership of only thirty-one members originally, afterwards increased to one hundred, the society in the course of its operations, extending over thirty-eight years, issued no less than 115 publications, some, if not all of them most valuable books of reference.

In 1824 David Laing was admitted to the Society of Antiquaries, of which he was for fifteen years treasurer and two secretary. Few literary men have accomplished so much. His labours were unwearied, and almost without intermission. He is believed from first to last to have stood editorial sponsor to no less than 250 volumes, of which the following engrossed no inconsiderable amount of labour:—*History of the Church of Scotland*, *Works of John Knox*, *Early Poets of Scotland*, *William Dunbar*, *Alexander Scott's Poems*, *1568*; *The Gude and Godly Ballates*, *1578*; etc.

For a long period of years Mr Laing resided in Portobello. He was a well-known figure on its streets, at least twice a day, on his way to Edinburgh in the morning, and on his return in the afternoon. During the earlier period of his stay in Portobello he generally walked the whole distance, both going and coming, but latterly he more frequently performed the journey by rail. In 1845 he acquired a quaint cottage on the sea shore at the foot of James Street, where with his sisters he lived till his death in

1878. He made large additions and improvements to the place, adorning it both internally and externally with antiquarian relics, and a rich store of books and works of art.

Here he was in the habit of meeting and entertaining many of the leading literary spirits of his day in the most hospitable manner. Sir Daniel Wilson, in his *Reminiscences of Edinburgh*, mentions one such occasion, when there were present Charles K. Sharp, Robert Chambers, Cosmo Innes, Joseph Robertson, George Harvey, and James Drummond. It was in September 1848. A few months before, excavations in which all of these gentlemen were interested, involved in the demolition of Trinity College Church to make room for the railway, had disclosed the coffin and remains of Queen Mary of Gueldres, mother of James III. These had been taken up and re-buried in Holyrood with some ceremony, in the full belief they were the veritable remains of the Queen. But while David Laing's party were sitting down to dinner, news was brought by James Ballantine, poet and antiquary, that "another Queen" had been discovered among the ruins. Much discussion arose as to the identity of the bodies, and the matter is still shrouded in uncertainty; but the party of *savants* at Portobello laughed heartily, we are told, over the affair, and the probability that they had re-buried the wrong Queen!

In his habits David Laing appears to have been remarkably methodical. So regular were his movements, that we have been told one might set the clock by his coming and going! With his umbrella in one hand, and the inevitable parcel of two or three bulky volumes in the other, his hat firmly set down on his head, his black overcoat open at the breast, stepping along with easy stride, he was a conspicuous figure whom one could not readily forget. He seldom spoke to anyone on the street, but seemed thoroughly absorbed in his own cogitations. During the whole of his long residence in the burgh he took little or no part in the conduct of its affairs. Only once, and that a few months before his death, he spoke out against what he considered an infringement of the public right-of-way through the Links. Previous to 1878 this piece of ground had been used for public games and recreations, while the path through it from the south-west to the north-east corners had been used by him and others as a *short cut* "from time immemorial." The feuars in the immediate neighbourhood discovering that they had by their charters a control over the

Links, and having resolved to enclose it and exclude the public, were putting up the fence when Dr Laing sent a strong letter of remonstrance to the Town Council. Unfortunately it was unavailing; for the Town Council, considering they had no power to interfere, calmly allowed the place to be closed up, and so it remained until amalgamation with Edinburgh led to negotiations that have happily ended in the Links being once more restored to public use. David Laing had the degree of LL.D. conferred on him by the University of Edinburgh in 1864, but with characteristic modesty he never permitted himself to be addressed by his friends as Doctor, preferring plain "Mr" to his name. He was essentially genial in disposition—a high-minded, warm-hearted gentleman, with a slight tendency to brusqueness in intercourse with the general public. At home, he was deeply engrossed in his books, and was so quiet in his movements, that, as his sister has told us, you would not know he was in the house. He died at East Villa, James Street, on Friday morning, the 18th October 1878, at the ripe age of 86. The funeral, which took place a few days after, was a large one; and while the procession of over thirty carriages passed along the High Street on its way to the New Calton burying-ground, the inhabitants marked their respect for his memory by closing their places of business.

Dr David Laing was a member of New Greyfriars' Church. He remained unmarried—wedded only to his books. Portobello may well be proud to own him as a citizen. He has been styled "the Prince of Scottish Literary Antiquarians of this Century." He was the link which connected the brightest days of Scottish literature with our own. Only eleven years the junior of Sir Walter Scott, his first contributions to the press appeared the same year as *Waverley*, and yet he survived the author of *Waverley* for nearly two generations. A literary life such as his, extending over fully sixty-four years, is a circumstance almost unparalleled in the present day. Devoid of noisy ambition or love of notoriety, his life was one of singular industry, honour, and usefulness.

As showing the wealth of literature which his library at Portobello contained, it is worthy of mention that after his death his books were conveyed to London, where they were sold by auction at Messrs Sothebys. The sale, consisting of 4000 lots, extended over eleven days, and realised no less a sum than £16,000. His

collection of MS. and old charters, bequeathed to the University of Edinburgh, is a noble monument to his research, and now that these "Laing Charters" are being published, they will be valued by future historians for the material they supply for family and parochial history.

David Laing's house—which has recently been demolished to make room for more modern buildings—was exceedingly quaint. Its suite of rooms were comfortable and spacious, though low in the ceiling. The walls were well lined with pictures, and the cabinets filled with curios, many of which now find a fitting resting-place in the Antiquarian Museum of Edinburgh.



EAST VILLA.

The exterior had also many evidences of the Doctor's antiquarian tastes, in the form of old carved stones and inscriptions, busts, and grotesque figures gathered from ancient buildings, which have been carefully removed, and which, it is hoped, will be preserved in our city museums.

HUGH MILLER.

Hugh Miller, stonemason, banker, geologist, and editor, is identified with Portobello by a residence of over four years—from 1852 to 1856—and unhappily by the way in which his brilliant career was brought to a tragic close.

He has himself given the world an account of his early life in his *Schools and Schoolmasters* so full that little more need be done here than simply to recall his connection with the locality.

While he was in the zenith of his fame as editor of the *Witness* newspaper, and the leading Scottish geologist of his day, he took up his residence in Shrub Mount, a detached two-storey house, or villa, within its own grounds, situated in the High Street, about fifty yards west from Tower Street. It would not be considered by any means an elegant, or even a commodious house nowadays. Its ceilings were low, and its rooms by no means large; but

though it stood close on the High Street it had then an air of comfort and retirement which made it an excellent family residence. It was one of the old original Portobello mansions of the previous century, and its well-stocked garden, which at one time extended to the sea, though in Miller's time only half the original size, gave ample recreation ground for his family. Here he erected a museum, into which he gathered the geological specimens which



HUGH MILLER'S HOUSE.

his researches in the neighbourhood were constantly bringing to light—not a few being discoveries in the Joppa Quarries or the Niddrie Coal Pits. At his death the contents of the museum were presented to the Edinburgh Industrial Museum, where they form a large portion of the geological section.

Hugh Miller's interest in Portobello was repeatedly evinced during these years by his readily consenting to deliver lectures of a popular kind on his favourite science in the town. There was no lecture hall in Portobello sufficiently large at that time to accommodate the audience desirous of hearing the great geologist, and on one winter, two lectures were given in the U.P. Church in Bath Street, and at another time, two were given in the Free

Church in Regent Street, which were largely attended. Here he rehearsed to delighted audiences his *Story of the Flood*, the *Old Red Sandstone*, *Footprints of the Creator*, and in his last lecture, a portion of the *Testimony of the Rocks*, which at the time of his death, he was preparing for the press.

Plain in outward appearance, unassuming in character and demeanour, Miller's manly figure was a well-known one in the streets of Portobello, where he might be frequently seen explaining to some acquaintance the markings on a slab of stone which he was taking home from Joppa Quarry, or showing fossils of the flora of a bygone age, which his keen eye had discovered. He was seldom called Mr Miller by his acquaintances or by the common people. They would no more have done this, says his biographer, "than they would have called Robert Burns by the name of Mr Burns; they identified themselves with him, and identified him with themselves by calling him *Hugh Miller*." His museum was his hobby, and any acquaintance interested in geology found him ever ready to exhibit its treasures, and to open his mind on his favourite science. Noblemen and savants from all quarters were proud to visit him at Shrub Mount and to be instructed in the mysteries he had dragged from the strata of the earth. The celebrated Professor Louis Agassiz—one of the greatest of modern naturalists—visiting Miller once, was shown the broken fragments of a large fossil fish which he had found, but had failed to piece together, owing to the want of some prominent parts. For a long time it had puzzled Miller, but Agassiz taking the fragments, spread them out one by one on the museum table in their proper order and arrangement until he had outlined the complete skeleton. Miller was surprised and delighted. Holding up his hands, as he himself afterwards described the occurrence, "I was never," said he, "so near worshipping a man."

In the autumn of 1855 appeared the first symptoms of the malady which ultimately closed the tragedy of his life. He had been working for some time on the last of his works, the *Testimony of the Rocks*. The mental strain of his editorial work, with the addition of long night vigils after his family had retired to rest began to tell upon him. He fancied his house and museum were being haunted by robbers. One evening his eldest boy William had been in the garden, and returned with the news that he had seen a lantern moving among the trees, and had heard whispered

voices. Miller went out, and though no trace of footpads could be seen, the attention of the household was excited, and night after night servants and children alike declared they had heard mysterious sounds and had seen strange sights. All this influenced his imagination, and pistol and sword were ever in readiness to repel attack.

The whole thing was a complete hallucination, and arose, we believe, through the playful spirit of adventure peculiar to children, ever ready to imagine dangers, and to assist in the making of them. The garden, which was thickly planted with trees and shrubs, was a favourite place of resort in the evenings, even in winter, of Miller's two sons, William and Hugh. A rustic hut had been erected in it, and there, with a few companions of their own age, they would sit for hours reading or retailing ghost stories, or adventures such as their father had recorded in his *Schools and Schoolmasters*. The author remembers well taking a part in these nocturnal symposiums. Lanterns were of course often to be seen flitting about the garden, but whether the scare as to robbers originated from the frolic of some youthful companion we cannot pretend to say. Hugh Miller, however, never got the idea out of his head, it haunted his imagination and helped to upset his reason. Firearms were constantly beside him at night, and he would be found wandering through the house at midnight, disturbed in the midst of his labours by fancied noises, and looking for burglars who never appeared.

So serious did the mental malady become, that extra medical aid was deemed advisable, and in December of 1856 he underwent an examination by Professor Miller and Dr A. H. Balfour of Portobello, both of whom recommended entire rest for his over-wrought brain. The last of his proofs of the *Testimony of the Rocks* he had finished on the 23rd December, and the Doctors' commands he readily promised to obey.

But the time of rest for the wearied brain came too late. That evening he spent happily with his wife and four children, reading to them some of Cowper's poems. After taking a warm bath, he went upstairs to his study, passed on to his sleeping room, which immediately adjoined it, and lay down on his bed.

Hitherto his mental paroxysms had revealed no symptoms of suicidal mania, and no danger seemed to have been anticipated,

though it was well enough known that every night a revolver lay within his reach, while a broad-bladed dagger and a naked sword lay at his bed head. His fear of robbery had returned with renewed power. Whether some such phantom had suddenly seized him with irresistible force cannot be known, but either in the dead of night or in the grey dawn of morning, he rose from his bed and half dressed himself. A horror came over his spirit, and under that strain reason gave way. He rushed to the table and on a sheet of paper hurriedly wrote the following lines to his wife—"Dearest Lydia, my brain burns. I *must* have *walked;* and a fearful dream rises upon me. I cannot bear the horrible thought. God and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon me. Dearest Lydia, dear children, farewell. My brain burns as the recollection grows. My dear, dear wife, farewell. Hugh Miller." This done, he then hurriedly, but deliberately seized the pistol, and placing it to his heart fired. Death was instantaneous; the revolver dropped from his hand into the bath, and he sank to the floor a corpse.

Thus died on 24th December 1856, one of Scotland's greatest sons. The overwork and excitement to which he had subjected himself had dethroned reason from her seat, but the actual mania which ultimately mastered him had indeed been defined by himself some days before his death. The words, "I *must* have *walked*," seem to indicate, says his biographer, Mr Bayne, that he fancied himself "driven by witches and demons in the darkness."

Only a few days before, on Sabbath, the 21st December, he sat in his usual place at the forenoon service in Portobello Free Church, under the ministry of the Rev. Alexander Philip, but he could not have been feeling well, as it was observed that throughout nearly the whole service he scarcely ever looked up, but rested with his shaggy head buried in his hands over the book board.

To the last he worked on at his favourite science, completing at the cost of his life his great work—*The Testimony of the Rocks.* Only a week before his death he was announced to lecture in Bath Street United Presbyterian Church—now St John's Hall—and though personally he was unable to be present, the lecture was read for him by one of the ministers of the town on the very night preceding his untimely end. Hugh Miller's services to science have undoubtedly been great, but he is even more distinguished and held in loving recollection in Portobello as a man

than as a savant. Honest, high-minded, earnest, and hugely industrious, a true Scot; a hearty, but not a sour Presbyterian (for he loved Burns as much as he loved John Knox), there are few men of whom his country has better reason to be proud than "Honest Hugh, the stonemason of Cromarty."

The sensation in Portobello when the news of Miller's death became known was intense. Nothing else was talked about, and when the funeral cortege passed along the streets on its way to the Grange Cemetery, it was followed by hundreds of tearful eyes.

The house in which this tragedy occurred is now much changed. Our illustration, taken from the large entrance gateway off the High Street, will doubtless recall its appearance to some of the older inhabitants. The front garden approach has since been built upon by shops and dwellings, while a narrow entry leads to the front porch. The house is sub-divided among tenants of the working-class, while Miller's fine garden is occupied as a builder's yard, and his museum as a plasterer's shop. Thus the spirits of the mighty pass away, and their earthly residence knows them no more for ever.

REV. MACKINTOSH MACKAY, LL.D.

This most estimable man and learned divine came to Portobello in 1868 to spend the remaining days of a lengthened useful life. He was a man of large experience, being successively minister of Laggan and Dunoon in Scotland, at Melbourne and Sydney in Australia, and on his return home, minister of Tarbet in Harris, in all of which charges he exemplified the doctrines he taught in a consistent Christian life.

A devoted Highlander, his life of self-denial and devotion to the interests of his countrymen rendered his influence paramount in the North, and embalmed his memory in their hearts. As an evidence of his worth and the high position he held in the Church, he was chosen to be Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly in 1849, the duties of which he discharged with courtesy and marked ability.

Feeling the weight of years and growing infirmity, he resigned his charge and came to Portobello in 1868, and during the following five years his voice might occasionally be heard in the pulpit of the Free Church.

Dr Mackay was an eminent Gaelic scholar, and when minister of Laggan, and quite a young man, he was acknowledged to be

the first Gaelic scholar of the day. At the instance of the Highland Society he published in 1828 a Gaelic Dictionary, which is still a standard work. In that year he formed the acquaintance of Sir Walter Scott, and visited him at Abbotsford, on several occasions. Scott refers to his visits in his journal as follows :—

"13th February, 1828.—Mr Mackintosh Mackay, minister of Laggan, breakfasted with us this morning. This gentleman is completing the Highland Dictionary and seems very competent for the task. He left in my hands some papers of Cluny Macpherson concerning the affair of 1745, from which I extracted an account of the battle of Clifton for Waverley. He has few prejudices (for a Highlander) and is a mild, well-mannered young man."

16th February—"There dined with me my Celtic friend, Mr Mackay of Laggan."

Again 26th June, 1828—"Mr Mackay breakfasted with me—modest, intelligent, and gentle."

25th May 1829—"Dr Mackintosh Mackay came to breakfast, and brought with him to show me the young Chevalier's target, purse, and snuff-box, the property of Cluny Macpherson. The target is very handsome indeed, studded with ornaments of silver, chiefly emblematic, etc. The purse is small and light."

Again on 28th May—"Dr Mackay breakfasted and inspected my curious Irish MS. which Dr Brinkley gave me. He reads it with tolerable ease, so I hope to knock the marrow out of the bone with his assistance."

In 1829 and 1831 Scott repeatedly mentions visits from Dr Mackay at Abbotsford, and that on one occasion the good Doctor favoured the Abbotsford circle by conducting service and preaching a sermon which, Sir Walter says, was "an excellent discourse on the Socinian controversy." It may be mentioned here that the late Mr W. F. Skene, Historiographer-Royal for Scotland, when a lad in indifferent health, was sent to reside with Dr Mackintosh Mackay in 1830 at Laggan, and when there the Doctor taught him Gaelic. This, says Skene, excited in him such a taste for Celtic Antiquities that he prosecuted the study with great keenness and success. On one occasion, when visiting Abbotsford with his father in 1831, he mentions his finding in Sir Walter's Library a copy of O'Connor's *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*, which to Scott was a sealed book, "I sat up," says Skene, "one night transcribing from it the 'Annals of Tighernac.'"

Dr Mackay, though eighty years of age when he died in 1873, is described as being a "tall, spare, fine-looking old man, with a benevolent kindly countenance and courteous disposition." He died in No. 3 Bellfield, and is buried in Duddingston Churchyard, where a marble monument records his worth and work, as "a man distinguished for extensive education; a humble Christian and able pastor; profound in his views of Divine truth; rich in Christian experience; abundant and unwearied in labours; and the first Gaelic scholar of his day."

SIR DAVID BREWSTER.

One of the most distinguished of Scotland's scientific men, David Brewster formed an early and interesting acquaintance with Portobello, which throughout a long and busy life he continued to cultivate by making it, especially in his later years, a frequent summer resort.

While still a young man, pushing his studies in optics, and establishing his *Encyclopædia*, he formed the acquaintance of his future wife—Miss Julia Macpherson—in 1809, at a dinner party given by his friend Mr Prentice at Portobello. The young lady who was beautiful and attractive, seems to have cast her spell over the young scientist, for within a week afterwards he was invited by her brother to his house, and joined the family at dinner, and the intimacy thus formed grew into an affection which ended within a year in her marriage to Brewster. The young lady's brother, Mr James Macpherson, who with his wife and family were residing in the then pleasantly situated house called Jessfield in Rosefield Avenue, was the son of the celebrated author or translator—at all events the publisher to the world—of the *Poems of Ossian*. His estate of Belleville in Strathspey was ever afterwards a welcome home to Brewster. After their summer and autumn residence at Jessfield—Mr and Mrs Macpherson having gone on a lengthened tour on the Continent—the Misses Macpherson went to reside in Edinburgh with Miss Playfair, a sister of Professor Playfair. In Brewster's diary for 1810, in the midst of such entries as "Thought of new theory of the sun"—"Invented new method of measuring crystals by laying a small reflector on the surface"—"Read paper before the Royal Society"—we find suspiciously increasing and very frequent references to dining, supping, and drinking tea at Miss Playfair's,

until at last the brief conclusion comes July 31st 1810—"MARRIED."

The young couple seem afterwards to have taken up their quarters in Portobello, residing for the three following years in Jessfield. With the exception of Rosefield—the house of the "Father of Portobello" (William Jameson) still standing in Adelphi Place, and which has already been referred to in these annals as identified with the History of Portobello as the Town Council and Police Chambers for many years—Jessfield is probably one of the oldest family residences standing within its own grounds, to be found in that neighbourhood. It was built im-



JESSFIELD.

mediately after the opening up and feuing of Rosefield Avenue about the year 1770, which, as we have mentioned, was the first side street to be formed in the town. In Sir David Brewster's early days Jessfield and Rosefield, surrounded as they both were with large parks and beautiful garden ground stocked with abundance of fruit trees, in which we are told "the apple, pear, plum, and apricot flourished in great profusion" must have been an attractive home for the young scientist then struggling into fame. And here he formed the livelong acquaintance of the minister of the Parish—the Rev. John Thomson of Duddingston, the celebrated painter. In 1828 Brewster's son Charlie was drowned in the

Tweed at Allerly, and it is rather singular that a few years after his son David narrowly escaped a similar fate at Duddingston Loch. Many years afterwards, in the evening of life, after a long and brilliant career, Sir David, while Principal of Edinburgh University, occasionally came to spend a month or two in the town, endeared to him by these early associations—his place of residence being Mount Lodge in Windsor Place.

Other celebrities than those we have noticed have doubtless been identified with Portobello; for, not to speak of Lords and Baronets, Admirals and vice-Admirals, Generals, Colonels, and Captains who lived within its borders, have we not had a goodly army of Doctors of Law, of Medicine, and Divinity, all of them more or less celebrated in their day, who have left "their foot-prints on the sands of time?" But besides these we have also had poets and musicians—male and female—not a few even in these latter days, not to speak of artists, authors, publishers, engineers, and lawyers, whose names are not unknown to fame.



SILVER BADGE OF THE DUDDINGSTON CURLING SOCIETY.
INSTITUTED 1795.

Appendix.

Appendix.

OLD CHARTERS OF DUDDINGSTON.

CHARTERS OF KELSO ABBEY

Relating to Easter Duddingston, 242.

1221-36. A.D. Herbert, by the Grace of God, Abbot of Kelso and the Convent of the same place.

Know ye, both present and to come, that We, with the common consent of our Chapter, have given, granted, and by this our present Charter confirmed to Thomas, Son of Reginald de Boscho, and his heirs, the whole lands of Ester Dodinestun by their proper boundaries (*rectas divisas*) with all their pertinents, which Richard, the Son of Hugh, quit claimed (or renounced) in our Chapter for himself and his heirs for ever. Moreover, the said Thomas and his heirs shall hold the foresaid lands of us in meadows and pastures, in mill and waters, and other easements rightfully belonging to the said lands of Ester Dodinestun, and with half the petary of Camerun freely and peacefully in fee and heritage, paying to Us each year for the foresaid lands 10 marks of silver at the two terms—viz., five at the Nativity of St John the Baptist, and five at the Feast of St Martin, and doing the forinsec service to our Lord the King, and to Us as much as pertains to us for the third part of a town.

But the said Thomas, himself or his heirs, shall not make perpetual alienation of the foresaid lands or any part of them, nor shall he wadset [or mortgage] the foresaid lands or half of the said land without our consent and will.

Witness the Chapter; witnesses also these—viz., Sir William de Boscho, Chancellor; Sir Nees de Ramesee, Sir Michael de Wymet, Mr Stephen of Lillisclif, Hugh le Bret, Thomas his brother, Richard of Dodinestun, William Mautalent [Maitland, ancestor of the Lauderdale family], Theodoric of Reveden, Allan of Hertesheved, Peter of Hauden, Peter of Faunes, Robert of Rentoun, and others.

CHARTER OF WESTER DUDDINGSTON

(prior to 1336). Kelso, 511.

To all the sons and faithful of Holy Mother Church, William, by the Grace of God, Abbot of Kelso and of the Convent of that place, Eternal greeting in the Lord.

Know ye, both present and to come, that We, with the common consent of our Chapter, have given, granted, and by this our present Charter, confirmed to Sir William de Freschelai and his heirs, half the town of Wester Dodyngstone, according to its proper marches, with all its pertinents.

Moreover, the said Sir William and his heirs shall hold the foresaid land of us and our successors in meadows and pastures, in mills and waters, and other easements of right belonging to the foresaid half land of Wester Dodyngstone, freely and quietly in fee and heritage for ever, Saving the right of the Rector of the Church and Vicarage in all things, paying therefrom to us and our successors each year for the foresaid land 12 marks of silver, six marks at the Nativity of St John the Baptist, and six marks at Martinmas in winter, and performing to us and our successors homage and suit at our courts when they happen, and doing forinsec service to our Lord the King and to Us as much as pertains to the half of the town of Wester Dodyngstone, and that the said William and his heirs shall not make perpetual alienation of the foresaid land nor any part thereof, nor shall they wadset the said land nor the half of the said land, nor any part thereof without our assent and will and that of our successors.

CHARTER OF PRIESTFIELD.

Apud Edinburgh, 5th January, 1509-10 A.D.

Rex Concessit familiari suo Waltero Chepman, burgensi de Edinburgh, et Agneti Cokburne ejus sponse—40 solidatas terrarum antiqui extentus nuncupatas Ewerland, in villa et territorio de Crawmond Regis, Vic. Edinburgh; quas idem Wil. personaliter resignavit; ac terras de Preistfield, cum tenentibus, etc.; juxta communem moram burgi de Edinburgh, Vic. antedict quas Jac Wardlaw de Ricartoun resignavit, Tenend. dictis Walt. et Agneti, et ipsorum alteri diutius viventi in conjuncta infeodatione et heredibus inter ipsos legitime procreatis, quibus deficientibus legit et propinquioribus heredibus dicti Walt. quibiscumque :—Reddendo, pro Ewerland servitium lavacri debit, et consuet, et pro Preistfeild par cirothecarum die B. Egidii in Ecclesia B. Egidii de Edinburgh, nomine albe firme :—Registrum Magni Sigilii Regum Scotorum, 1424-1515, p. 727.

THE LAING CHARTERS

Relating to Duddingston.

Summary by Rev. J. Anderson, Register House, from the originals,

IN EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

396. 9 November 1534. Precept of Sasine, by John Cossar, Sub-Prior of Kelso, directed to Gilbert Wauchope of Nudry-Marschall, James Lawson in Humby, John Preston of Liberton, William Done, and David Murray, for infefting David Murray of Balvaird, Knight, as son and heir of the late Margaret Barclay, his mother, in the half lands of Wester Duddingston, held of the Abbey, of which lands the said David obtained a former precept from the late Thomas [Ker] Abbot of Kelso, who died before the precept took effect. At Kelso, 9 November 1534.

397. 10 November 1534. Instrument of Sasine proceeding on the above precept.

423. 23 June 1538. Precept of Sasine (in terms of a charter) by James (Stewart) Commendator of Kelso, and John, Abbot of Lindores, coadjutor and administrator of said Monastery, for infefting John Bertoun, son and heir apparent of Robert Bertoun, of Over Berntoun, in the lands of Easter and Wester Duddingston, with the half of the mill, in the regality of Kelso and sheriffdom of Edinburgh. At Kelso, 23 June 1538.

465. 3 September 1542. Letters by the Bailies of the Burgh of Canongate of date 4 October 1570, certifying a transcript of an excerpt from the protocol book of the deceased John M'Neil, notary, of an instrument, dated 3 September 1542, narrating the resignation of John Bartan of Craigies and Jonet Little, his spouse, into the hands of James (Stewart) Commendator of Kelso of the lands of Easter and Wester Duddingston, with mill, etc., in the County of Edinburgh, in favour of Robert Barton, son and heir of the said John . . . Transumpt made by James Logane, notary and clerk of the said Burgh of Canongate.

540. 30 July 1548. Charter by James (Stewart) Commendator of Kelso (and Melrose), with consent of the Chapter of Kelso, granting to Robert Bertoun, son and heir apparent of John Bertoun of Craigiis, the whole lands of Easter and Wester Duddingston, with half the mill lands, etc., lying in the regality of Kelso and sheriffdom of Edinburgh, which lands belonged to, and were resigned by, the said John Bertoun and Jonet Little, his spouse. To be held in feu ferm for £93 13s 4d Scots yearly. Dated at Kelso——1548. Signed by the Commendator and by Adam Chatto, sub-prior, James Ancrum, Radulph Gledstens, Walter Morro, Michael Chatto, and Thomas Symson, members of the Convent.

541. Precept in terms of above directed to Alex. Bertoun, Florentine Corntoun, and David Marche, as Bailies, for infefting Robert Bertoun in the said lands. Signed as in Charter. Kelso, 30 July 1548.

544. 4 September 1548. Transumpt of an Instrument of Sasine following on a charter and precept, as foresaid. Made in presence of the Bailies of the Burgh in the Street of the Canons of the Monastery of

Holyrood, near Edinburgh, on 4 October 1570, at the instance of James Logan, their common clerk, from the protocol book of the late John Macneil, sometime common clerk of the said burgh.

[The seal of Robert Bertoun on No. 589 bears the device of a crab. The legend is broken.]

601. 3 July 1552. Precept by Robert Bertoun, son and heir apparent of John Bertoun of Duddingston, for infefting in terms of a charter of sale granted by him with consent of his father and of John and Adam Litill, Burgesses of Edinburgh, his curators, Thomas Thomson, Burgess of Edinburgh, and Margaret Bertoun, his spouse, the granter's sister, in the lands of Easter and Wester Duddingston. Signed "Robert barton, w^t my hand Jhon a barton, frank tenimet^r of Dediston." "J. Litill, Adam Litill, w^t my hand." [Only a fragment of Robert Berton's seal remains.]

604. 21 February 1553. Precept of Clare Constat by James (Stewart) Commendator of Kelso, directed to John Ramsay of Corstoun, as bailie, for infefting Andrew Murray as heir of his father, the late David Murray of Balvaird, Knight, in the half of the lands and town of Wester Duddingston, within the sheriffdom of Edinburgh. held of the granter-in-chief. Signed "James, Commendator of Kelso and Melrose."

865. 31 December 1571. Letters of licence by William Lummisdane, parson of Cleische and Administrator of the Abbey of Kelso, granting permission to Thomas Thomsoun, "ypothecar," burgess of Edinburgh, to alienate and dispone the lands of Easter and Wester Duddingston, with half mill, etc., lying in the regality of Kelso, and sheriffdom of Edinburgh, to Mr Alexander Thomsoun, his youngest son; to be held of the Abbot and Convent of Kelso, as superior. Dated at Ardrie, 31st December 1571.

866. 13 January 1571. Notarial Instrument narrating that Thomas Thomson, apothecary, burgess of Edinburgh, passed to his lands of Easter and Wester Duddingston as above, and there with his own hands gave sasine to his beloved son, Mr Alexander Thomsoun, present and accepting; reserving the life-rent of the lands to the granter and Margaret Bertoun, his spouse. Done, 13 January 1571.

867. 20 January 1572. Charter by Thomas Thomson, granting to his son as aforesaid . . . To be held of the Abbot of Kelso for 100 merks yearly feu-duty; reserving the franktenement to the granter and Margaret Barton, his spouse. Dated at Duddingston, 20 January 1571-2. Signed "Thomas Thomson, appo^t w^t my hand."

868. 30 January 1572. Charter by Francis (Stewart) Commendator of the Monastery of Kelso, with consent of William Lumnisdene, Rector of Cleish, Administrator of the Monastery, granting to Andrew Murray, son and apparent heir of Andrew Murray of Arngask, Knight, the half lands of Wester Duddingston, shire of Edinburgh, with mill, etc. Reddendo twelve merks yearly at the feast of John the Baptist and Martin-

mas with other due services. Dated and signed at St Andrews, 30 January 1571-2.

875. 29 June 1572. Charter by Frances (Stewart), Commendator of Kelso, with consent of William Lumsden, Rector of Cleische, etc., confirming the charter, dated at Duddingston, 20 January 1571-2. [No. 867, *supra*.]

961. 2 May 1578. Discharge in the form of a Notarial Instrument, narrating that Robert Ker, one of the Bailies of the Burgh of Edinburgh, in consideration of the sum of £200 Scots "paid in half merk pecis, plakis, and balbeis," by Andrew Sibbald, servitor of Andrew Murray of Arngask, discharges the latter of an annual rent of £20 Scots secured over the town and lands of Wester Duddingston, occupied by the said Robert Ker and Janet Pacock.

1033. November 1581 (?). Portion of a Charter by Andrew Murray of Arngask, Knight, in terms of a contract, dated 11 November 1581, granting to Mungo (Quintigern) Weir and Catherine Burne, his spouse, £100 Scots of annual rent from the lands of Wester Duddingston.

1113. 18 March 1586. Charter by Andrew Murray of Balvaird, Knight, granting to John Fentoun, clerk of the Roll, his heirs, etc., in feu ferm and heritage, that parcel of land called Orchard, in the territory of Dudingston, between the church and the yard occupied by Gilbert Blak and John Hil on the north, the "Butts" belonging to the late Robert Lawson of Humbie, occupied by Richard Cairns and John Lambert, on the east, the Loch of Dudingston on the south, and the "gerse" yard with dovecot on the west: to be held for 20s Scots yearly. At Holyroodhouse, 18 March 1585-6. Signed "S Androw MuRay of Arngrosk."

1145. 17 July 1587. Charter by Andrew Murray of Arngask, Knight, by which, in terms of a contract between himself, Henry Borthuik in Dudingstoun, James Murray there, and Thomas Cherry, burgess of Canongate, on the one side, and John Matheson, portioner of Broughton, and Agnes Anderson, his spouse, on the other side, the granter sells to the said John Matheson and Agnes Anderson, and their heirs, etc., an annual rent of 100 merks from the half lands of Wester Dudingston, with mill, etc. Reddendo, one penny. Dated at the Burgh of Canongate, 17 July 1587. Witnesses, Wm. Murray of Letter Banachty, James Murray, dweller in Wester Dudingston; John Kello, smith in said burgh; James Borthuik, the granter's servant, and John Blair, notary public.

1146. 27 July 1587. Instrument of Sasine proceeding on a precept (directed to John Scott, the granter's officer in Duddingston, as Bailie) in the preceding charter, in favour of John Matheson of Brochton and Agnes Anderson his wife.

1171. 23 October 1588. Fragment of a Deed signed by Sir Andrew Murray of Arngask, the text of which is wholly illegible, but relates probably to a mortgage over the lands of Duddingston. Among the witnesses are Henry Borthwick in Wester Duddingston, and his son, James.

1175. 16 December 1588. Letter of Reversion by John Matheson and Agnes Anderson, as forsaid, in favour of Andrew Murray, for the redemption of an annual rent of 50 merks, secured over the lands of Wester Duddingston. Dated at "Brochton," 16 December 1588.

1240. 6 April 1592. Letters of Reversion by Isobel Scott, relict of Andrew Sibbald in Kinkell, as life renter of the lands named, and for their eldest son, narrating a contract of obligation by the late Sir Andrew Murray of Arngask (21 May 1589) to herself in liferent and to said Patrick Sibbald of an annualrent of 80 merks from the lands of Wester Duddingston, and as no reversion was granted to the late Sir Andrew, that on payment of 800 merks she will resign the lands in his favour. Dated at Monze, 6 April 1592.

1274. 10 March 1594. Notarial Instrument narrating that John Fentoun, clerk of the King's Comptroller, appeared on the ground of that parcel of land called "Orchaird," in the territory of Duddingston [described as in No. 1113 *supra*], and there the said John gave sasine of said lands to James Fentoun, keeper of the Orchard ("pomarii") of Holyrood Palace, and to Marion Hunter, his spouse. Done, 10 March 1593-4.

1284. 18 July 1594. Charter by Alexander Thomson of Dudingston, advocate and hereditary feu-farmer of the lands, granting to his future spouse, Margaret Prestoun, relict of Walter Cant in St Giles Grange, the lands of Wester Dudingston, half the mill, etc., in liferent. Dated and signed at Edinburgh, 18 July 1594.

1341. 10 April 1598. Extract Retour of Service of Mariota Crawmond, as nearest and lawful heir of her father, the late John Crawmond, advocate, in an annual rent of £20 over the half lands of Wester Dudingston, held in chief of the heirs of the late Sir Andrew Murray of Ardingask, Knight, for one penny Scots, in name of blench. The said annual rent being now held by Elizabeth Brown, relict of Mr John Brown, who died in June 1597. Royal Brieve attached.

1375. 21 May 1599. Charter by Richard Weir, Burgess of Edinburgh, and of Katherine Burne, his spouse, granting to the said Katherine, the granter's mother, her heirs, etc., that annualrent of 50 merks Scots, part of an annual rent of £100 Scots over the lands of Duddingston, granted by Andrew Murray of Arngask to the late Mungo Weir.

1377. 1 June and 10 July 1599. Charter by Andrew Ker of Lintoun and William Ker his son and apparent heir, in terms of a contract between them and John Ker, Burgess of Edinburgh, alienating to John Ker and Elizabeth Ker, his spouse, the whole kirk lands of the Vicarage of Duddingston, lying on the east side of the town and territory of Wester Duddingston, with teind sheaves, etc., namely:—Eleven rigs of land in the Langlands of Wester Duddingstoun, fifteen rigs of land lying between those two ways, the one leading from Duddingstoun to Nudry, and the other leading from Duddingstoun to Musselburgh; six rigs lying in the "clayis" or "claggis"; and one and a half acres lying between the crofts of said town, called "Carnebukis," extending in all to fourteen acres.

1403. 18 August 1600. Charter by Mr Alexander Thomson of Duddingston, advocate, with consent of Margaret Preston, his spouse, granting to Hector Rae, merchant, Burgess of Edinburgh, an annual rent of 500 merks from the lands of Wester Duddingston.

1404. 18 August 1600. Instrument of Sasine following above Charter.

1405. ——— 1600. Letter of Reversion by Hector Rae in favour of Mr Alexander Thomson and Margaret Preston of the above 500 merks, and that on payment of 5000 merks of principal.

1411. 22 November 1600. Charter under the Great Seal of King James the Sixth granting to Mr Alexander Thomson of Dudingston and his lawful heirs, the lands of Wester and Easter Dudingston, with the mill, etc., which lands had been resigned by the Grantee in the King's hand, and which His Majesty now united and erected into one whole and free tenandry, to be called the "Tenandry of Dudingston;" the principal habitation of Easter Dudingston to be the principal messuage of the whole. To be held in feu ferm for a feu of £74 6s 8d Scots and 6s 8d of augmentation. Holyrood, 22 November 1600. ["REGISTRUM MAGNI SIGILLI."] Vol. VI. No. 1106.

1415. Instrumental of Sasine following above Charter, given at Easter Duddingston, 2 February 1601.

1445. 17 May 1603. Extract Retour of John Thomson, as nearest and lawful heir of his father, the late Mr Alexander Thomson, advocate (who died in January 1603), in the lands of Duddingston.

1446. Letters patent by King James VI. assuming Robert Coltart as attorney for John Thomson in all causes. 7 June 1603.

1447. Instrument of Sasine infefting John Thomson as heir to his father as aforesaid. 10 June 1603.

1506. Extract Retour of Thomas Thomsoun, as nearest and lawful heir of his deceased brother, John Thomsoun, son of the late Mr Alexander Thomsoun, advocate, in the lands of Easter and Wester Duddingston, in the shire of Edinburgh. Held of the King in feu for £74 13s 4d Scots yearly. 24 February 1607.

1510. 7 April 1607. Instrument of Sasine following on a Crown precept, dated 3 April 1607, for infefting the said Thomas Thomson in "the Barony of Duddingston, held of the King in chief;" yearly feu duty, £74 13s 4d. Among the witnesses are John Livingstoun, portioner in Crawmond; David Craig, James Anderson, and George Spen; all in Easter Duddingston.

1613. Precept of clare constat, by Thomas Thomson of D., infefting Adam Rae, merchant in Edinburgh, as son and heir of his father, Hector Rae, in an annual rent of 500 merks, over the lands of Easter and Wester Duddingston. Edinburgh, 20 June 1611.

1614. Instrument of Sasine following above by Thomas Thomson, with consent of his curators—Mr John Prestoun of Pennycuk, President of the College of Justice; John Moresoun, merchant, Edinburgh;

and John Livingstoun of King's Cramond. Sasine given 27 June 1611.

1659. Charter of Confirmation of foregoing, dated 11 September 1612.

1660. Charter by Thomas Thomson, with consent of his curators, confirming a charter, dated 3 August 1612, conveying to John Moresoun an annual rent of 300 merks over the lands of Duddingston. Edinburgh, 11 September 1612.

[Adam Thomson, apothecary, son of Thomas Thomson, apothecary, owned a tenement on the north side of the High Street of Edinburgh, which he bequeathed to his five daughters—Margaret, Isobella, Elizabeth, Katherine and Joanna equally—reserving his liferent.]

1789. Instrument of Sasine by Thomas Thomson, with consent of his curators, to Patrick Walker, infefting him in an annual rent of 100 merks over the half lands of Wester Duddingston. 10 January 1618.

1827. Instrument narrating the resignation of Sir Thomas Thomson of Duddingston, Knight, of the teinds of the lands of Duddingston, except the Kirk Lands, presently possessed by the relict of the late John Ker, and the re-delivery of the same to him by the Lords of the Exchequer. Edinburgh, 23 February 1620.

1843. Letter of Reversion by Sir John Morison, Knight, in favour of Thomas Thomson of Duddingston, to the effect that though the latter has alienated to the former an annual rent of 1000 merks Scots from the lands of Duddingston, yet on payment of the principal sum of 10,000 merks, the granter will resign the lands to the said Thomas Thomson. Edin., 26 August 1620.

1919. Notarial Instrument narrating the resignation to the Exchequer by Sir Thomas Thomson of Dudingston, Knight, of the lands of Wester and Easter Dudingston, with mill, etc., which resignation was accepted and the said lands were re-delivered to the said Sir Thomas, in terms of a Charter to be made thereon. Done at Holyrood, 23 February 1623.

2076. Charter by Thomas Thomson of Dudingston granting to his cousin, David Preston of Whitehill, in feu-ferm, that piece of waste land or rock, for constructing one or more Salt pans, with their houses, etc., lying within the bounds of Easter Duddingston, near the sea, and bounded between two great fixed rocks, lying between the sea on the north and the highway on the south, and containing fourteen falls in breadth from east to west. Reddendo, £4 Scots and a sack containing three bolls of salt for each pan to be made, yearly. Dated and signed at Easter Duddingston, 11 February 1631. Witnesses—Captain David Scrimgeour, son of the late Sir John Scrimgeour of Dudhope, Knight; James Lawson in Easter Duddingston, and James Cas, W.S., writer of deed. [1035, Box 28.]

2131. Extract Act of Parliament, ratifying a royal charter to Sir Thomas Thompsoun of Duddingston, Knight, erecting his lands into a

tenandry, etc. Edinburgh, 28 July 1633. C.F. *Acts of Parliaments of Scotland*, Vol. V., p 119. No. III. [1411, Box 37.]

2135. Instrument of Sasine by Sir Thomas Thomson, infefting Rodger Mowat in an annual rent of fifty merks over the lands of Wester Duddingston. 23 December 1633. [Box 45. No. 1749.]

2287. Instrument of Sasine by David Prestoun of Craigmillar, for infefting his eldest son, George Prestoun and Jean Gibson, his spouse, and their heirs, in that piece of land or rock let to David Prestoun by Thomas (now Sir Thomas) Thomsone of Duddingston, Knight, as in charter No. 2076 *supra*, and the six saltpans, with houses, built by David Prestoun, lying within the bounds of Easter Duddingston, near the sea. Sasine given on the ground by presenting the "Schellis" of the said saltpans. [24 February 1641. 406. Box 12.]

2449. Charter by Sir Thomas Thomson of D., Knight, in terms of a contract matrimonial, dated 17 September 1627, between himself and Dame Margaret Scrymgeour, now his spouse, and her late father Sir John Scrymgeour of Dudhope, Knight, Constable of Dundee, which bound Sir Thomas to infeft his wife in an annuity of 3000 merks, or 20 chalders of victual, ten chalders of wheat, and ten of barley—granting to her the liferent of the lands of East Duddingston, bounded by the west boundary on west, the bridge of St Magdalen on east, the sea on north, and the water of Brunstoun on south, with manorplace etc., and teindsheaves; also those parts of West D. presently occupied by James Robertsoun, formerly by Elizabeth Wauchope and the late John Borthwick, the late Robert Ker, and Katherine Thomson, his spouse; also that part occupied by Andrew Symontoun, miller, and the whole mill of West Duddingston, mill lands, multures, etc.; Adams-Law, and Quhythauch, also occupied by Andrew Symontoun, with teindsheaves and rectory teinds—of old lying in the lordship of Kelso, but now in the tenandry and parish of Duddingston and Sheriffdom of Edinburgh. To be held blench for one penny Scots. Dated at Easter Duddingston, 13 December 1653. Witnesses—Sir John Hay of Barra, Patrick Thomson, the granter's eldest son, etc. [2101, Box 53.]

2601. Instrument of Sasine from the Chancery of King Charles II., infefting Sir Patrick Thomson, Baronet, as heir to his father, Sir Thomas Thomson of D., Knight-Baronet, in the lands and towns of Easter and Wester D. and others as described, in the Parish of Duddingston and shire of Edinburgh, with the teinds, etc. Sasine given 5 April 1666, and recorded in particular register 12 April, same year. Witnesses—Mr Walter Cant, advocate; Claude Moore, his servant; William Duncan, tenant in Easter Duddingston, and others. [573, Box 16.]

2617. Precept from Chancery of Charles II. infefting Patrick Nisbett, as nearest and lawful heir of his father, Henry Nisbett of Craigentinnie, Knight, in the lands of E. and W. Duddingston with the mill and mill-lands, called the tenandry of Duddingston, with the teinds (except those of the Kirk-lands or Vicar-lands, formerly occupied by the widow of

the late John Ker), which barony was held of the Earl of Roxburgh, as lord of the lordship and barony of Halydean, belonging to the Abbey of Kelso, and now held by the Crown. Dated, May 1667. [407, Box 12.]

2620. Instrument of Sasine following on a Bond, dated 16 May 1666, by Sir Patrick Thomson of D. to James, Ludovick (Lewis) William and Elizabeth Thomson, his brothers and sister, lawful children of the late Sir Thomas Thomson, of £6000 to each of the brothers and £8000 to the sister, secured over the lands of Duddingston. Given 11 July 1667. [680, Box 20.]

2893. Instrument of Sasine, under a bond dated at Ham House, 18 September 1691, by Elizabeth, Duchess of Lauderdale, granting in favour of Sir Patrick Home of Lumsden the lands of Gilbertoun, commonly called Brunstane, with mills, coals, etc., etc., all lying in the Parish of Liberton; also in warrandice thereof, the lands of Easter Duddingston, in the Parish of Duddingston and shire of Edinburgh. 2d January 1692. [2771, Box 72.]

EXTRACTS FROM "ABBREVIATED RETOURS" issued from Chancery.

"INQUISITIONU RETORNATARUM ABBREVIATIO."

I.—RELATING TO DUDDINGSTON.

No. 103, Co. of Edin. "17 Maii 1603—Joannes Thomesoun, *hæres* Magistri Alexandri Thomesoun de Duddingstoun, advocati, *patris*—in villis et terris de Wester et Eister Duddingstoun. E. £74 13s 4d et 6s 8d in augmentationem. iii. 24

No. 117, Co. of Edin. "Jany. 3, 1604.—Patricius Edzer burgensis de Edin., *hæres* Alexandri Edzer de Papermylne prope Edn., *patrui*;—in 10 acris terrarum arbilium, cum molendino vocato lie Papermylne, et astrictis multuris baroniæ de Craigmillour, terris molendinariis cum ustrina, horres lie Cobill, infra baroniam de Craigmiller; E. 41½ m. iii. 53.

No. 211, Co. of Edin. "24 Feby. 1607—Thomas Thomsoun, *hæres* Joannis Thomsoun filii legitimi quondam Magistri Alexandri Thomsoun, advocati, *fratris*, in terris et villis de Wester et Eister Dudingstounes, cum molendino carbonibus carbonariis, quæ annexantur et incorporantur in liberam tenendriam de Dudingstoun. E. £74 13s 4d. iii. 264.

No. 654, Co. of Edin. "March 31, 1630.—Catherina Wilsone, *hæres* Joannis Wilsone pollentarii ac burgensis de Edinburgh, *patris*,—in anno redditu 20 m. de dimidietate quarta partis terrarum de Sauchtounhall, in regalitate et baronia de Bruchtoun; 2 terris cottagiis in Wester Dudingstoun, continentibus 22 buttis terrarum. E. 18s. xi. 30.

No. 1142, Co. of Edin. "March 23, 1666—Dominus Patricius Thomsone de Duddingstoune, *hæres* Domini Thomæ Thomsone de Duddingstoun militis baronetti, *patris*. In terris et villis de Eister et Wester Duddingstouns, unitis in tenendrian de Duddingstoun. A.E., £16. N.E.,

£48. Decimis garbalibus dictarum terrarum infra parochiam de Dudingstoune. A.E., 13s 4d. N.E., 40s. xxviii. 124.

No. 1155, Co. of Edin. "Maii 3, 1667.—Patricius Nisbet, *hæres* Domini Henrici Nisbet de Craigentinnie militis, *patris*—in terris et villis de Eister et Wester Dudingstounes, unitis in tenandrum de Dudingstoun. A.E., £16. N.E., £48. Decimis garbalibus praedictarium terrarum, infra parochiam de Dudingstoun. A.E., 13s 4d. N.E., 40s. xxviii. 237.

No. 1222, Co. of Edin. "7 Oct. 1675.—Robertus Comes de Roxburgh, *hæres masculus et talliæ* Gulielmi Comitis de Roxburgh, Domini Ker de Cesfuird et Caverton, *patris*, . . . terris, dominio, et baronia de Halyden comprehendentibus terras, &c., olim ad abbatiam de Kelso pertinentis, viz., terras de Easter et Wester Dudingstouns; E., £82 12s. . . . officia justiciariæ terrarum de Dudingstoun et aliarum terrarum in Roxburgh et Berwick. E. . . . *Administratio justiciæ*: omnibus unitis in dominium et baroniam de Halyden, etc. xxxii. 218.

No. 1273, Co. of Edin. "15 April 1681.—Joannes Suittie, *hæres* Gulielmi Suittie, mercatoris burgensis de Edin., *patris*,—in tenementis in Edin. :—E. 40s, etc. . . . Villis et terris de Easter et Wester Dudingstoun unitis in baroniam de Dudingstoun, cum decimis :—A.E.—N.E.— xxxvi. 274.

No. 1290, Co. of Edin. "5 Jun 1684.—Robertus Comes de Roxburgh, *hæres masculus et talliae*, Roberti Comitis de Roxburgh, Domini Ker, Cesfoord, et Caverton, *patris*, . . . terris, dominio, et baronia de Holydean, comprehendentibus terras de Easter et Wester Dudingstouns ;—E. £82 12s, etc.

No. 1291, Co. of Edin. "5 July 1684.—Joannis Kerr de Cavers, *hæres* Joannis Kerr de West Nisbet, *patris*,—in terris ecclesiasticis vicariae de Dudingstone, viz.—11 rigis terrarum in Longlands de Wester Dudingstone ;—15 rigis terrarum prope villam de Dudingstone ;—6 rigis terrarum in lie clayes, et 1½ acra inter croftas dictae villae nuncupatas Carnbucks, extendentibus in integro ad 14 acras terrarum; peciis terrarum nuncupatis lie Ortchart in dicta territorio—E. 16 m. etc., feudifirmae. xxxix. 66.

No. 386, Co. of Edin. "Maii 3, 1687.—Patricius Walker, *hæres* Agnetis Andersoun, sponsæ quondam Joannis Mathesoun Senioris portionarii de Brochton, *filiæ fratris aviæ*,—in annuo redditu 100 m de dimidietate terrarum de Wester Dudingstoun. vi. 215.

No. 1312, Co. of Edin. "25 March 1690.—Thomas Murray de Woodend, *hæres* Magistri Anthonii Murray de Woodend, *patris*,—in annuo reditu 300 m. Correspondente 5000 m. de terris de Pepermilne et Kingsmeadow alias Sharniehall, infra parochiam de Libbertoun. xli. 86.

No. 1324, Co. of Edin. "Feby. 27, 1691.—Georgius Logan de Burncastell, *hæres* Joannis Logan de Burncastle, *patris*,—in 4½ bovatis terrarum infra villam et territorium de Wester Duddingstoun. A.E. . . . N.E. 12*l*. xlii. 92.

No. 1326, Co. of Edin. "April 17, 1691.—Capitanus Gulielmus Hay,

hæres Magistri Joannis Hay de Aberlady, *patris*,—in villa et terris de Easter et Wester Duddingstounes, unitis in tenandriam de Duddingstoun: —A.E. £16. N.E. £48—decimis garbalibus terrarum de Easter et Wester Duddingstone. A.E. 13s 4d. N.E. 40s. xlii. 123.

No. 1362, Co. of Edin. "22 Oct. 1696.—Joannes Comes de Roxburgh, *hæres masculis et tallice*, Roberti Comitis de Roxburgh, etc., *fratris germani* (inter alia), in Baronia et dominio de Halydean, comprehendente inter alia, terras de E. & W. Dudingstounes, cum terris de Humbie in Haddington, £82 12s.

II.—RELATING TO LANDS OF FIGGATE.

No. 661, Co. of Edin. "12 June 1630.—Joannis Lawsoun, de Humbie, *hæres* Jacobi Lawsoune de Humbie, *avi*—in terris de Wester Dudingston et Sigat [or Figat] subscriptis, viz., 1½ bovata terræ; 1½ bovata terræ de Wester Dudingstoun, in villa et territorio de Wester Dudingstoun:— . . . cetera desunt. xii. 82.

No. 1179, Co. of Edin. "6 April 1670.—Joannes Logan de Burncastle, *hæres* Georgii Logane de Burncastle, *patris* in terris de Figgat in territorio de Eister Duddingstoun, et baronia de Duddingstoun, cum decimis garbalibus, et cum aliis teris in Vicecomitatu de Haddington—E. 4*l*, feudifirmæ. xxx. 20.

No. 1323, Co. of Edin. "27 Feby. 1691.—Georgius Logan de Burncastle, *hæres* Georgii Logan de Burncastle, *avi*,—in terris de Figat infra territorium de Eastir Duddingstoun et baroniam de Dudingstoune, cum decimis garbalibus, et decimis garbalibus 4½ bovatarum terrarum, infra territorium de Wester Dudingstoun,—E. . . . feudifirmæ. xlii. 80.

III.—RELATING TO BRUNSTAIN.

No. 256, Co. of Edin. "Maii 17, 1608.—Jacobus Creichtoun, *hæres* Joannis Creichtoun de Brunstoun, *patris*,—in orientali dimidietate terrarum de Brunstoun:—E. 26s 8d.—Orientali dimidietate terrarum de Auchincorthie, E. 26s 8d—Occidentali dimidietate terrarum de Auchincorthe,—E. 26s 8d—Villa et terris de Newbigging in warrantum occidentalis dimidietatis de Auchincorthie, in baronia de Pennycuik. E. 40s. iv. 165.

No. 283, Co. of Edin. "31 Aug. 1609.—Joannes Dominus Thirlestane, *hæres* Dominæ Jeannæ Flemyng relictæ quondam Joannis Domini Thirlestane Cancellarii regni Scotiæ, pro tempore comitissæ de Cassillis, *matris*,—in terris de Gilbertoun:—A.E. £5. N.E. £10. Terris de Brunstoun, Braidwode, Welchtoun, et Ravinneshauche, in warranto terrarum de Gilbertoun. A.E. 5 m. N.E. 20 mks. iv. 272.

No. 815, Co. of Edin. "18 Oct. 1637.—David Creichton Commorans in Regno Hyberniæ, *hæres* Thos. Creichtoun filii legitimi natu maximi Jacobi Creichtoun olim de Brounstoun, *patris*,—in annuo reditu 500 m. de tribus molendinis granariis de Musselburgh vocatis Eist et West Mylnes in dominio et regalitate de Musselbrughshyre. xiv. 147.

IV.—RELATING TO PRIESTFIELD.

No. 809, Co. of Edin. "30 June 1637.—Thoˢ Comes de Haddingtoun, Dominus Byning et Byres, *hæres masculus* Thomae Comitis de Hadingtoun, etc., *patris*,—in dominis et baronia de Byning, comprehendente terras de Priestfield cum lacu et piscariis ad dictas terras adjacente :—A.E, 40s. N.E. £6. Decimas Garbales de Preistfield. E. 20s. . . . Terras de West Byning cum molendinis ; bovatam terræ in Eister Byning, A.E., £7, N. E., £10. Peciam terræ et prati nuncupatam Damflat in Locheheides, in territorio de Tortrevin et infra baroniam de Melvill :—A.E. 10s. N.E. 20s.—Terras de Orchyardfeild :—E. . . .—Terras capellanias et altria Sancti Columbi et Mariæ Virginis Vulgo 'Our Lady,' infra ecclesiam parochialem de Crawmond—E. . . .—Terris ecclesiasticas de Eister Byning, et Wester Byning—E. xv. 140.

No. 858, Co. of Edin. "23 Octo. 1640.—Thoˢ Comes de Haddingtoun, with addition of right in the Common Moor of the Burgh of Edinburgh.

No. 1022, Co. of Edin. "13 March 1650.—Alex. Hamiltoun, *hæres* Alexandir Hamiltoun Rei Tormentariæ Scotiæ præfecti, *patris*,—in terris et Baronia de Preistfield cum lacu et piscariis dicti lacus :—A.E. 40s. N.E. £6.—Decimis garbalibus praedictarum terrarum : E. 20s.—Unitis in baroniam de Preistfield. xx. 31.

No. 1068, Co. of Edin, "18 Aug. 1657.—Anna Hamiltoun, heir of Alexander Hamiltoune, son to Alexander Hamiltoune, generall of the Artylzearie, [who died Nov. 1649], her brother ; in the lands and barroney of Preistfeild, with the haill loch lyand contigue, and fischings of the samin, within the balliarie of Edinburghe :—O.E. 40s. N.E. £6.—The teynds and teind sheaves of the foresaids lands of Preistfeild :—E. 20s.—all unite into the baronie of Preistfeild. xxiv. 196.

No. 1137, Co. of Edin. "5 Jany. 1666.—"Dominis Jacobus Hammiltoun, *hæres masculus* Domini Jacobi Hamiltoun de Preistfield militis, *patris*,—in haereditario officio Custodiae Roborarii Jie park de Halyrudehous, cum feodis, etc., ad idem pertinentibus.—A.E. 20s. N.E. £3. 100.

No. 1196, Co. of Edin. "7 Maii 1672.—Alexander Murray, *hæres* Domini Boberti Murray de Preistfield militis, *patris*,—in terris et baronia de Preistfeild ;—lacu jacente contigue ad dictas terras de Preistfeild, cum piscariis dicti lacus, et decimis dictarum terrarum, unitis in baroniam de Preistfeild. A.E. 40s. N.E. £6.—Terris de Cameron tam proprietate quam superioritate, cum principali mansione, prope communem moram de Edinburgh, cum decimis garbalibus et jure patronatus capellaniae sive sacelli beatae Virginis Mariae, infra ecclesiam parochialem de Mussilburghe. A.E. 40s. N.E. £6.—Terris sive maresio communi vulgo Comownemyre noncupato, infra libertatem burgi de Edinburgo, extendentibus in toto ad 52 acras terræ :—E. £13 *feudifirmae* : Anno redditu 10 m. de feudifirma £13, debita praeposito, ballivis, consulibus, et communitati burgi de Edinburgo de praedictis terris vocatis Comownemyre. xxxi. 32.

TENANCY OF SALT PANS, COLLIERY, AND FARM OF EASTER DUDDINGSTON IN 1788-1808.

From *MS.* Genealogy of the Thomsons of Priorletham by Andrew Thomson, W.S., c 1830.

in re John Thomson of Priorletham, 3d son of William Thomson and Isobel Thomson. Born at Burntisland, 10 August 1744. (In possession of his grandson, Colonel J. E. Thomson, St Andrews.)

In 1777 he was appointed agent at Leith for a Mr Ward of London, who was contractor for victualling the Royal Navy on the Leith Station, and in 1781 he got an equal share of the contract for bread, beer, beef, butter, oat meal, cheese, etc. In 1786 he built an elegant dwelling-house in Constitution Street, Leith. He was an extensive trader in fish, fruit, tallow, battens, flax, and hemp, etc., but in 1787 business got dull, and he obtained a lease of the coal and salt works on the estate of Duddingston, belonging to the Earl of Abercorn—and also of the farm of Easter Duddingston. The lease of the coal on the west of the Great Seam and Salt Works was dated 18 and 24 January 1788, to commence as at Martinmas 1787, and to endure for 21 years at the rent of £200 stg. per annum (for the coal) or a tenth of the gross produce in the option of the Earl—£90 for the Salt Works—and £37 3s 6d for the collier's houses and other houses mentioned in the inventory, and with power to him to relinquish the lease at the end of the third year on giving the Earl three month's notice—or at the end of every third year on giving a twelvemonth's notice. He was to have got a lease of the rest of the coal as soon as it was put in a proper working condition, and expected to have realized a great deal of money by it, but the Earl dying, 9 Oct 1789, before the matter was completely arranged, there arose a dispute between Mr Thomson and his successor, which was referred first to the Hon. Henry Erskine, Advocate, on 20 Sept. 1792, and afterwards to David Williamson, Esq., Advocate (now Lord Balgray) who settled the business by Decreet Arbitral, 5 Aug. 1811, finding a balance due by Mr Thomson to the Marquis of £347 3s 7d stg. and obliging the parties to discharge each other of their mutual claims (said to have been several thousand pounds against Mr Thomson by the Marquis) which discharge was signed by Thomas Guthrie Wright, W.S., as Factor and Commissioner for the Marquis, and William Thomson, M.D., dated 30 August and 2 Sept. 1811. Mr Thomson acted as cash-keeper for the old Earl for the Brunstane Colliery, who told him at settling accounts that it had thriven better under his management than it ever did before, as he never had a balance in his favour till then.

The lease of the farm [he did not go to reside constantly there till 1790] was dated 27 Sep. 1787 for 21 years at the rent of £360 for the first 15 years and £400 per annum for the remainder.

He had likewise a lease of the Links of Easter Duddingston, commonly called the North Links or Rabbit Hall (on which the houses forming the east end of Portobello are now built) with the houses thereon, at the rent of £16 per annum; and also of the dwelling house with the offices and gardens in the village of Easter Duddingston, with the two parks or enclosures at the rent of £48, dated 12 and 15 August 1788. The lease, so far as it concerned the Links, was renounced in favour of the Marquis in 1801 on his allowing Mr Thomson £10 5s of a surplus rent. He got a lease from the Marquis of the Deer Park at Brunstane for 12 years from Martinmas 1790 at the rent of £233 per annum, and appears to have paid £240 for the deer contained in it, amounting, I believe, to a 100 head, which, so far as I can make out, were sold at different times for about three guineas each. In 1790 he cut down for the Marquis in this park 1232 trees, which he sold for £322 1s.

The Farm for some years at the commencement of the lease was not a very profitable concern, but never a losing one. A statement of produce and profits of E. D. Farm here follows, from 1802 to 1808, when the lease expired :—

Crop, 1802—Produce					£1050	10	10½				
Expenses, viz. :—											
Rent,	£397	15	0								
Charges,	433	8	5½								
Taxes,	14	6	7½								
					845	10	1				
Profit								£205	0	9½	
Crop, 1803—Produce					£1048	3	0				
Expenses—											
Rent,	£437	15	0								
Charges,	423	2	7½								
					860	17	7½				
Profit								187	5	4½	
Crop, 1804—Produce					£1401	7	2½				
Expenses—Rent, &c.,					811	15	8				
Profit								589	11	6½	
Crop, 1805—Produce					£1348	19	7½				
Expenses—Rent, &c.,					916	11	8½				
Profit								432	7	11	
Crop, 1806—Produce					£1301	12	1½				
Expenses—Rent, &c.,					846	14	1½				
Profit								454	18	0	
Crop, 1807—Produce					£1339	19	9				
Expenses—Rent, &c.,					807	19	0				
Profit								532	0	9	
Crop, 1808—Produce sold unreaped					£1886	11	2½				
Sale of horses, cattle, farm implements, &c.,					523	18	5				
Carry forward					£2410	9	7½	£2401	4	4½	

Brought forward	£2410	9	7½	£2401	4	4½		
Expenses—Rent, &c., Stocking and Profit	733	18	11	1676	10	8½		
				£4077	15	1		
Add Profit on Dairy, 1802-1808, at moderate average of £75 per annum, ...				525	0	0		
Total Profits for Seven years,				£4602	15	1		

To this should be added the potatoes, meal, milk, butter, poultry, and eggs used by the family—which in so large a family, with so many servants, would amount to no inconsiderable sum. In order to show the clear profit, the original stocking and outlay on buildings on the farm, amounting altogether to £1300, should be deducted from the foregoing sum, but which will still leave a profit of £400 or £500 a year for the seven years.

Some of the horses and cows, being of good breeds, sold remarkably well at the sale, which took place on leaving the farm. A black cart horse, bred by Mr Thomson, beautifully shaped, but which was between 19 and 20 years old, sold for £20. Mr Thomson, not being able to get a good price for the wool produced by the sheep on his farm, commenced a woollen manufactory at Brunstane Mill, in 1793, on a small scale, and made coarse cloth and blankets in order to dispose of it. He however, gave it up a year or two afterwards.

He was in Liverpool in 1794 for some weeks arranging matters with the Insurance Brokers relative to a ship of his which had been taken by the French and recaptured. He afterwards resumed his establishment in Leith, and successfully carried on business as a general merchant to a greater extent than formerly, and had contracts for victualling the Navy in the Leith Station. In 1795 on the death of his brother William he succeeded to the estate of Priorletham. He died at his house St John Street, on 26 Sep. 1810, aged 66, and was interred in the family burying-ground at Wester Duddingston.

Andrew Thomson, W.S., Edinburgh, the writer of the foregoing narrative and fourth son of John Thomson of Priorletham, born at Easter Duddingston 1795, made extensive researches into the genealogy of his family with a view to making out his descent from the family of the Thomsons of Duddingston, so that he might claim the Baronetcy which had become extinct. [See page 62.] After much cost of labour, time and money, before he had completed his task, he came to the conclusion that the connection of the Priorletham Thomson's with the old family of Duddingston could not be established, at least sufficiently to warrant them claiming the succession to the title.

LETTER FROM SIR JAMES DICK OF PRIESTFIELD, BART.,

Lord Provost of Edinburgh, to Mr Patrick Ellis in London, after his shipwreck along with James Stuart, Duke of York, and others in the Gloucester frigate of war. Dated Edinburgh, 9 May 1682.

Upon Sunday last, at eight o'clock at night, His Royal Highness and his retinue that were alive arrived safe here, there being ane most sad disaster on the Saturday before. At 7 o'clock in the morning the man-of-war called the Gloster, Sir John Berry, captain, where His Highness was, and ane great retinue of noblemen and gent^m^ whereof I was one, the said ship did wreck in pieces and did wholly sink upon the bank of sand called the Lanon and Orre, about some twelve leagues from Yarmouth. This was occasioned by the wrong calculation and ignorance of a pilot, which put us all in such consternation that we knew not what to do, the Duke and the whole that were with him being all in bed when she first struck, the helm of the ship having broke, and the man killed by the force thereof at the said first stroke. So, when the Duke had got his clothes on, enquired how things stood, she being sunk 9 feet of water in her hold, and the sea fast coming in at the gun ports, and all the seamen and passengers were not at command, but every man studying his own safety forced the Duke to go at the large window of the cabin, where his little boat was ordained quietly to attend him lest the passengers and seamen should have thronged so in upon him as to drown the boat, which was accordingly so conveyed as that none but Earl Winton and the President of the Session, with two of his bed chamber men, went with him, but were forced to draw their swords to hold people off. We, seeing His Highness gone, did cause tackle out with great difficulty the ship's boat, wherein the Earl Perth got in, and then I went, by jumping off the shrouds, into the boat, the Earl of Middleton immediately after me did jump into the same upon my shoulders; withall there came the Laird of Touch with several others beside the seamen that were to row, which we thought a sufficient number for her loading, considering there was going such a great sea occasioned by the wind N.E.—and that we saw that at the Duke's boat there was one overwhelmed by reason of the greatness of the sea, which drowned the whole in her except two men, whom we saw riding upon her keel, which they say were saved—made us desire to be gone; but before we were aware there lap from the shrouds about 20 or 24 seamen in upon us, which made all the spectators and us to think we were sinking; but not being able to come at, being so thronged, and all having given us over for lost, did hinder 100 more to loup in upon us. Among which that was left were my Lord Roxburgh and Laird Hopton, and Mr Littledale, Roxburgh's servant, a Dr Levingston, and the P of Session's man, all being at the place where I jumped would not follow

since it seems they concluded more safety to stay in the vessel than to expose themselves to any hazard, all which persons in an instant were washed off and all drowned. There perished in the disaster about 200 persons, for I reckon there were 250 seamen, and I am sure there were 80 noblemen and gentlemen, their servants being included. My computation was we were about 330 in all, of which I cannot understand 130 to be found. Our difficulties and hazards that were in that boat were wonderful to be all saved, for if they had not thought us all dead men I am sure there would many more have jump[d] into the boat above us, for we were so throng we had no room to stand, so when we were forcing ourselves off the ship, she being sinking by degrees all the time, was like to sink our boat down; and besides, the waves were so boisterous that we was like to be struck in pieces upon the wreck so sinking. This was not but with great difficulty we forced out the boat from the ship, and when we came to row to the nearest yacht, the waves were such and we overloaded that we every moment thought to have been drowned, and being about midway to the yachts there were a great many swimming for their lives who catched all a dead grip of our boat, holding up their heads above the water crying help, wh[e] hindrance was put off and their hands loosed, telling them they would both lose themselves and us. This would not do to make them loose their gripes, but were forced by several in our boat, except one that took hold of me, whom I caused catch into the boat lest I should have been pulled down, and when it pleased God to bring us wonderfully to one of the yacht's sides, being much less as [than] one quarter mile distance from our ship, they not daring come nearer by reason of the bank of sand upon which we were lost. And if it had not that there had been guns shot from our ship, shewing them our distress by that sign, the other men of war that were immediately following would have come into that same disaster. But they immediately did bear off, and the four yachts came up as near as they durst, and sent off their boats to help, but all that could be done could not escape this great loss of 200 men, as I have said.

I was in my gown and slippers lying in bed when she first struck and escaped as I have said in that condition, when unexpectedly and wonderfully we came to the yacht's side called Captain Sanders, we were like to be crushed in pieces by the yacht, which by reason of the great seas, was like to run us down, till at length a rope was cast, which was so managed that we came to the lee side, and there every man clam for his life, and so did I, taking hold of a rope, and so made shift upon the sides till I came within men's reach, when at last I was hauled in.

When I looked back, I could not see one bit of the whole great ship above water, but about a Scotch ell of the staff upon which the Royal Standard stood, for with her stricking she came off the sand bank which was but three fathoms, and her draught was 18 foot, so that there was 18 fathom water upon each side where she broke, for she sunk in the deepest place. Now if she had continued upon the three fathoms and broke in

pieces there, all would have had time to have saved themselves; but such was the misfortune that she wholly overwhelm'd and wash'd all into the sea; that thereupon her Decks expecting relife by Boats, which certainly would have been if she had but stayed half-an-hour more.

So that to conclude this melancholy account, all the above persons and countrymen that were of respect are as I have told. There are of Englishmen of respect dead My Lord Obryen, and My Lord Hyde's Brother, who was Lieutenant of the Ship. There are a number of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Servants dead which I cannot name, but I hardly can speak with any but they have lost of servants either more or less. God make me thankful for this wonderful deliverance!

Yesterday His R.H. called the King's Council, and there the King's will was declared for his Chancellor which was the President of the Session, and My Lord Queensberry, Treasurer, and My L[d] Perth Justice General, which Queensberry was before.

Notwithstanding of the Disasters his Highness has met with in this last sea voyage, yet he designs within 5 or 6 days with his Dutchess and Lady Ann to take shipping for London.

Flora and Fauna of Duddingston Loch and Neighbourhood.

The Rev. Wm. Bennett of Duddingston made a special study of the plants indigenous to the Loch, which he published in the *Statistical Account of the Parish* in 1796. His list is not a very full one, but probably includes some that are now extinct. The most remarkable mentioned by him among aquatic plants are Marestail, or Hypuris vulgaris, Potamogriton natans,—perfoliatum,—lucens,—crispum,—densum,—graminium, &c. Stratiotes aliodes, myriophyllum, spicatum, and Ranunculus aquatiles. Among the marshy, which are also often inundated, technically termed the Palustrae, are the Reed Grass, arundo phyragmites, scirpus palustris, menianthes trifoliata, Hydrocotyle vulgaris, Sium angustifolium, Parnassia palustris, Triglochen palustre, Alisma plantago, Epilobium palustre, and—hirsutum, Polyganum amphibium, Lychnis flos cuculi, Geum rivale, Comarum palustre, Ranunculus lingua,—sceleratus,—hederacens, Caltha palustris, Cardamine praetensis, Sisymbrium aquaticum, and amphibium, Tussilago farfara, and Petafites, Bidens, Sparganium erectum and natans, Equisetum palustre, and fluviatile.

In Dr Lightfoot's *Flora Scotica*, published in 1777, there is a list of 313 species of plants growing on Arthur Seat and adjacent crags; and more recently Dr Greville (1824) in his *Flora Edinensis*, a volume of 500 pages, gives a list of 1794 species of indigenous plants growing in the

neighbourhood. Still more recently (1863) the *Flora of Edinburgh*, compiled by Professor J. H. Balfour and Mr John Sadler, appeared, and will be found to deal fully with the flora of the parish, while Mr Thomas Speedy in his *Craigmillar and Its Environs* (1892) has also given some attention to the subject, in an interesting popular form. Readers are also referred to C. O. Sonntag's *Pocket Flora of Edinburgh and District* (1894).

THE FAUNA OF DUDDINGSTON LOCH AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Abbreviated from List by Mr Thomas Speedy.

The Swan (breeds prolifically), introduced by the Duke of Lauderdale about 1678; Mallard Duck (plentiful); Widgeon (a rare visitor); Teal (common, but not plentiful); Long-Tailed Duck (rare); Pochard (very common); Tufted Duck (plentiful); Golden-Eye Duck (occasionally found); Scaup Duck (a common visitor); Moor-hen, or Water-hen (very numerous); Quail (occasionally found in the district); Water Ousel (in all the neighbouring streams); King-fisher (frequents the Braid Burn); Curlew (seldom seen); Barn Owl (frequently seen at Craigmillar); Tawny Owl (plentiful); Short-Eared Owl (occasional, migratory); Long-Eared Owl (rare); Carrion Crow, Grey Crow, and Rook (1 and 2 rare, 3 plentiful); Jackdaw (numerous); Heron (frequently seen); Cuckoo (numerous); Magpie (plentiful); Great Spotted Woodpecker (occasionally seen); Thrush (very common); Missel-Thrush (abundant); Fieldfare (a familiar winter visitor); Redwing (a familiar winter visitor); Blackbird (very common); Woodcock (occasional visitor, seldom nests); Snipe (plentiful at Loch); Jacksnipe (a winter visitor); Landrail or Corn-Crake (common); Water-rail (frequently seen at Loch); Spotted Crake (a rare visitor); Dabchick or Little Grebe (breeds every season at Duddingston); Goatsucker or Night-Jar (occasionally seen); Peregrine Falcon (occasional); Buzzard (occasional); Osprey (has been seen, but seldom); Sparrow Hawk (scarce); Merlin (has been seen, and known to breed; Kestrel (common); Lark (plentiful); Grouse (occasionally on Arthur Seat); Greylag Goose (frequent visitor); Golden Plover (common); Peewit or Lapwing (plentiful); Black-headed Gull (common); Common Gull (in large numbers); Great Black-backed Gull (in large numbers); Herring Gull (in large numbers); Pheasants (plentiful); Partridges (considerable numbers); Wood Pigeons (not abundant); Starlings (numerous); Swift and Swallow (plentiful); Sand Martin (abounds); House Martin (plentiful); Gold Crest (not uncommon); Cole Tit (scarce); Blue Tit (very common); Great Tit (plentiful); Long-Tailed Tit (occasional); Tree Creeper (frequently seen); Jenny Wren and Cock Robin (abundant); Sedge Warbler (frequents, and occasionally breeds at the Loch); Black-

cap (a summer migrant); Chiffchaff (occasionally seen); Whitethroat (often seen on Arthur's Seat); Wood Warbler (fairly plentiful); Willow Warbler (common); Pied Wagtail (plentiful round Craigmillar); White Wagtail (occasionally seen); Grey Wagtail (common); Tree-Pipit (a summer visitor); Meadow Pipit (common, a few remain over winter); Rock Pipit (common near the coast); Snow Bunting (seen in severe winters on Arthur's Seat); Reed Bunting (not numerous); Corn Bunting (frequents the fields round Craigmillar); Yellow Hammer (found at all seasons); House and Hedge Sparrow (very common); Green Finch (very plentiful); Siskin (a winter visitor); Redpole (by no means numerous); Linnet (some to be seen on Arthur's Seat); Chaffinch (migratory, plentiful at all seasons); Bullfinch (now seldom seen, used to be plentiful); Crossbill (a rare bird); Goldfinch (occasionally seen); Common Sandpiper (a summer visitor); Spotted Flycatcher (by no means plentiful); Ring-Ousel (a summer migrant); Red Start (rare); Whinchat (occasionally seen); Stonechat (a few seen occasionally on Arthur's Seat); Wheatear (breeds on Arthur's Seat and Braid Hills).



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